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8 MAY 1986

Worldwide Report

ARMS CONTROL



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SDI AND SPACE ARMS

REPORTAGE ON BUNDESTAG DEBATE ON SDI AGREEMENT

Bangemann Briefs Bundestag on Agreement

DW170901 Cologne Westdeutscher Rundfunk Network in German 0701 GMT 17 Apr 86

[Speech by Economics Minister Martin Bangemann to Bundestag -- live]

[Text] Mr President, esteemed ladies and gentlemen: In the spring of 1985, the Federal chancellor and the Federal Government commented extensively on the SDI research program. You can look up those statements in the bulletin. The Federal Government stands by them. They were considered and confirmed in the cabinet decision of 18 December 1985. That decision is also known. The discussion about SDI research work must take place on a businesslike basis and not on the basis of speculation. Pursuant to the 27 March and 18 April 1985 statements, the Federal cabinet gave me a clear mission. On that basis negotiations took place between January and March 1986. On 27 March 1986 I signed two agreements on technological exchange and research participation in SDI. My mission was to improve framework conditions for technological cooperation between partners in the United States and German firms and to facilitate fair conditions for the participation of German firms and research institutes in research projects within the SDI research framework.

The agreements I signed fulfill that mission. I have informed the respective Bundestag committees -- to the extent required and as far as possible considering the time constraints -- about details of the agreements.

I want to point out particularly that with the common basic agreement, a mutual exchange of scientific research results and cooperation of science and the economy in research, production, and marketing is to be promoted. Those goals, which were set for me by the cabinet in its decision on the negotiations, have been fully accepted by the U.S. Government and integrated into the common basic agreement.

In this connection we have underscored a number of principles that have been reduced to bilateral or multilateral treaties, which we believe will be useful in future cooperation in technologically ambitious fields. As the basis for cooperation, the general agreement expressly mentions the principle of most-favored-nation treatment, free competition, and nondiscrimination.

It has been agreed that both sides will work to limit the administrative problems connected with our respective foreign trade laws. In addition, we have agreed on a consultation mechanism that also can be used to solve conflicts. These agreed-upon consultation mechanisms afford us the opportunity to develop further the agreement through gradually solving problems as we go along. We want to further facilitate daily cooperation of German firms with U.S. partners, and to assist such cooperation where it seems necessary and useful to those involved.

Past experience has shown that the complexity and confusion of laws and administrative procedures demand a consultation mechanism that works rapidly and efficiently. We have now created that mechanism. The general basic agreement does not -- and I stress this expressly because it was the subject of discussion -- envisage additional restrictions going beyond export limitations valid in the FRG.

The Federal Government maintains that the foreign trade law, with its regulations, is the place where stipulations should be made that are necessary in the alliance's common security interest. That will remain as it is. [applause]

The Federal Government will not stipulate foreign trade controls outside that legal framework.

The second agreement pertains to the participation by German companies and research institutes in the SDI research program. In this context it is particularly important to make it clear what the agreement is, what it contains, and what it is not, what is does not contain. The agreement on participation by German companies and research institutes in SDI research essentially govern the relationship between the ordering agencies in the United States and contractors in the Federal Republic. Aside from that, the SDI agreement ensures the exchange of information on research results between defense officials and guarantees an exchange of expertise pertaining to SDI technology that is useful in improving conventional defense in general and air defense in particular.

The U.S. Government expressly states in the agreement that it will heed its commitments under the ABM treaty in research cooperation with German partners. [applause]

Decisions about developing and deploying strategic defense systems are not the subject of the agreement, nor does the U.S. side expect them before the beginning of the next decade. The agreement does not detail any advance decision in that respect. In other words, the so-called firewall between research and application of research results -- a phrase Lord Carrington coined -- has been set up.

Research within the framework of the SDI program is, of course, adaptable to military use. I would like to stress that, because in the past there was a silly quarrel over whether what agreement involves is of civilian or military nature. It is absolutely clear, ladies and gentlemen, that the research is done with a military intention. Yet the research is confined to theoretical exploration of such military intentions. It does not proceed to application. That was expressly guaranteed by the reference to the ABM treaty.

Research itself does not, however, stipulate the option of applying its results. For that reason it would be a narrow approach to declare exclusively military any fundamental research activities only because they can also be utilized for military purposes. The civilian character of research is also illustrated by the fact that by all that we can visualize today, German contractors will contribute research results that they have already developed within the framework of civilian projects.

In the agreements, the Federal Government did not have to alter any of the positions it had taken in its government statements. [applause] This is demonstrated by the express reference to the Federal Government statements of 27 March and 18 April 1986, and to the cabinet decision of 18 December 1985, and by the fact that the United States likewise expressly reaffirms in the SDI agreement the observance of the U.S. -Soviet ABM treaty of 1972.

Besides, ladies and gentlemen -- and I ask you to note this in the interest of the Federal Republic and in your own interests -- strategic SDI issues are of considerable security policy relevance for the entire alliance; and it is there that this discussion is conducted, ladies and gentlemen.

The corresponding consultations in the Western European Union and NATO are intense. Their goal is to preserve the alliance context and promote European security interests. Anyone who would prevent such a discussion in the alliance, or replace it with individual discussions between countries, would harm the interests of the Federal Republic. [applause]

Participation in information exchanges enhances the perception and judgment of the research program results. That is indispensable for the above-mentioned security-policy discussion within the framework of the NATO joint strategy. As to the problem of the strategic defensive systems in the overall context of deterrence to preserve peace, the information flow is important in introducing into the discussion and, if necessary, jointly implementing European and national security-policy objectives and demands.

The agreement does not envisage any state participation. The Federal Government does, however, support German industry in establishing contacts with the U.S. Administration. The agreements afford a number of options for consultation and discussion among the parties involved. Thus, the Federal Government can, during bid invitations and other contract-preparing acts, make it clear through information passed to the U.S. Government that German expertise can be contributed to research. On the other hand, through an active information policy, the Federal Government can show companies and research institutes where the companies can exploit their chances.

The agreement contains clear definitions. It opens consultation options in individual cases. This is necessary, in view of the complicated substance of different legal systems and the different usages in the economy and in research in the two countries, to avoid to the extent possible any disadvantage to German participants. Anyone in our country doing high technology research and deciding for participation in the SDI research program on the basis of their freedom of enterprise should be given the option of participating in the research without any competition-distorting conditions and without discrimination. This, ladies and gentlemen, is the task of a government. It must ensure that the companies can do so, that they can make their own decisions against the background of fair terms, while retaining complete freedom of organization and choice. And we have achieved that without any restriction. [applause]

It goes without saying that within the framework of our foreign trade law [AWG] and independent of the SDI research agreement, interested German companies are completely free to conclude contracts with the U.S. ordering agency. The agreement is merely a framework to guarantee the protection of interests of German parties in the economy and in research. Of greatest importance is protection of the commercial rights and titles to research results contributed by the contractor to the project agreed upon with the ordering agency or developed by the contractor at his own expense in the process of implementing the order; equal treatment of German and U.S. contractors, especially regarding research results developed in line with implementing the SDI research order; full information by U.S. authorities to any party interested in contracts about everything required for successful bidding; protection against excessive security classification; and commitment of the U.S. Government to pursue to the best of its ability the civilian utilization of unclassified research results.

Ladies and gentlemen, all these results -- and I am telling you about the results today -- correspond to the cabinet order to improve the legal position of those German research institutes and companies that are willing to participate in the SDI research program. I can state that we were able to implement what we proposed to do. In his statement of 18 April 1985, the Federal chancellor reiterated that SDI research cooperation must guarantee fair partnership and free exchange of findings, that it must not become a technological one-way street, and -- as far as is possible -- secure an independent research field, thus giving us the opportunity to influence the project as a whole.

The principle of fair partnership and free exchange of findings is one of the central principles of the agreement. The fields of research, which are of particular interest to us, have been specifically stipulated in rules and regulations. The demand for cooperation on the basis of fair partnership has found expression in equal treatment of American and German contractors for successful bidding.

The regulations about using nonclassified research results for civilian purposes demonstrate that participation in the research program will not end up in a technological one-way street. It must be emphasized that the agreement stipulates as one goal of cooperation to allow German companies and research institutes to participate in the program according to their capacities. Because we consciously decided against state participation, our impact on the total composition of the SDI program will naturally be limited.

Ladies and gentlemen, let me draw your attention to the following: Criticism of the government's project and the results is quite contradictory, because the same people who first rejected the whole program now complain about our lack of influence on the total process. Such criticism is not logical and it shows how little our argumentation, our goals have been understood. [applause]

The cabinet order was to create a framework for German economic partners. Since then the Federal Ministry for Economics has held consultations with economically interested parties to formulate negotiation goals. The parties consider the negotiation results to be practice-oriented and positive. The agreement on technological cooperation contains a Berlin clause, which makes Berlin part of this agreement. In connection with the agreement on participation of German companies and 2 research institutes in research work within the SDI framework, Berlin's technological, scientific, and industrial resources are taken into account by the U.S. side, considering the special status of the city. Thus the Federal Government has fulfilled its commitment to include Berlin in the two agreements.

The two agreements are not secret agreements, esteemed ladies and gentlemen. The responsible Bundestag commissions were fully informed.

Esteemed ladies and gentlemen of the opposition, I have offered my services to the economic, defense, and foreign commissions as long as they request me to do so. The process of informing was not interrupted [unidentified persons interrupt] -- the process of informing was not interrupted. I have fully answered all questions about the respective articles of the two agreements. The text of the two agreements is available at the Bundestag classified library. Every delegate can study them. Everyone was fully informed.

And, Mr Roth, if that is not enough for you, I am willing to inform you privately. [unidentified interruptions]

The U.S. desire for confidential treatment -- and that is the only stumbling block the opposition can possibly find [unidentified interruptions] -- Mr Vogel you are welcome to find another stumbling block -- I do not mind.

The U.S. desire for confidential treatment, Mr SPD Floorleader, must be viewed against the background of continuous negotiations with a number of other countries. It goes without saying that a country which holds simultaneous negotiations with several other contracting partners has an interest in having the results of the negotiations with the individual partners treated confidentially. By the way, the agreement with Great Britain has also been treated confidentially. As you know, the British Parliament was also informed orally. For these reasons we agreed with the U.S. Government not to publish the text, and we stand by that.

The conclusion of the accords is an important step toward broadening the basis for industrial and research cooperation with the United States. They constitute a framework and at the same time open up prospects that interested German parties should utilize. It is not the Federal Government's task to fill in the accords. However, it will inform the interested parties about the contents in an appropriate way and in due detail.

Finally, let me deal with the claim that the accords require approval. The Federal Government is of the view that the memorandum of understanding on participation in SDI research and the joint memorandum of understanding on principle on the exchange of technologies do not require approval by the Bundestag. They are not political treaties as defined by Article 59, paragraph 2, clause 1 of the basic law. They do not regulate the Federal Government's political relations as defined by the jurisdiction of the Federal Constitutional Court. They do not deal with problems that concern the Federal Republic's existence or status. Nor do the accords refer to subject matters of federal jurisdiction. In particular, no federal law is necessary to execute the two memoranda.

In conclusion, I want to point out quite clearly that signing the accords on SDI research does not constitute a change in the policy consistently pursued by the Federal Government of actively contributing to East-West arms control and disarmament efforts. The statement by the Federal chancellor on 18 April 1985, that it is our goal to create peace with fewer and fewer weapons and to establish more stability in East-West relations still holds true. That is also the guideline of our policy regarding the U.S. SDI project. [applause]

As the Federal chancellor also said on the same day, the Federal Government believes it to be indispensable to find cooperative solutions, before decisions are made on matters other than research. Ladies and gentlemen, we continue to hope for an implementation of the U.S.-Soviet joint statement in Geneva on 8 January, that both sides strive for negotiations whose goal it is to draw up effective agreements to prevent the arms race in space and put an end to it on earth. [applause]

Kohl Hits Bundestag's 'Hypocritical' Stance

DW171321 Cologne Westdeutscher Rundfunk Network in German 0824 GMT 17 Apr 86
[Speech by Chancellor Helmut Kohl at Bundestag -- live]

[Text] Mr President, esteemed ladies and gentlemen: I paid great attention to the first contribution of the SPD faction speaker here. One thing is remarkable about that speech, and I think we should discuss it thoroughly today. Colleague Elsner, you said that you do not criticize the U.S. SDI program -- you can look it up in the protocol, you said it -- but rather the Federal Government's participation in it.

Ladies and gentlemen, what do you actually want? You have spoken in this house for many months against the U.S. SDI program. You charge us more or less with being an accomplice, and you try to excite people in this matter through the peace movement, Easter marches, and on many other occasions. What you are, however, is enormously hypocritical. I must say that clearly. [applause]

It is important to clarify in today's debate what you really want. Do you just want to add a new chapter to anti-Americanism, or are you really prepared to make your reasonable contribution to detente and disarmament policy?

Ladies and gentlemen, the problem of strategic defense is a decisive issue of international security. It is natural that in view of the tension in the world it has a special effect on East-West relations. Nevertheless -- and I want to stress it here again -- it would be absolutely wrong from my point of view to make strategic defense and especially the SDI program a focal point of East-West relations and to subordinate all other issues to this subject. If you follow attentively the discussion between the world powers, you will see that the tendency you cultivate in the FRG is not present there at all.

Ladies and gentlemen, such a simplified attitude does not do justice to the existing facts. Mr Bahr, you will have a problem eliminating that quote. I can understand that quite well. [shouts] I have always maintained that East-West relations cannot be limited to disarmament and arms control or even merely to SDI. From the FRG's point of view, from Germany's point of view, it is most important to point out repeatedly that East-West relations are of a manifold nature and that these relations contain political, military, economic, scientific-technological, and cultural elements of great importance to us.

Ladies and gentlemen, agreements in the field of disarmament and arms control will be possible and strong in the long run if the other fields, and especially political relations, are developed broadly, and if talks at all levels will remain possible. The actual state of arms control negotiations proves that today, compared with the situation years ago, most far-reaching negotiation proposals have been made by both sides. And yet talks in important fields are stagnating. They need a new political boost. We all think and hope that such a boost will arise from the meeting between General Secretary Gorbachev and President Reagan in the United States this year. One reason for that development is the fact that of confidence-building process between the two sides has not yet advanced far enough. However, one must add that, fortunately, more signs in the past few months have indicated that the Soviet leadership also attributes more importance to the entire breadth of relations. I noticed that General Secretary Gorbachev, in his speech at the 27th CPSU Congress, intentionally placed his disarmament program in the general political context. He said that security cannot be maintained with military means only, that it is mainly a political task.

Ladies and gentlemen, if problems of strategic defense are negotiated, it must be considered that both world powers pursue research work. None of us can prevent them from doing it. It is a reality that research cannot be controlled. However, we will not and cannot allow the Soviet Union's activities in this field to be ignored and the U.S. research work to be repeatedly put into the propaganda spotlight. [applause]

It is a fact, ladies and gentlemen, that the Soviet Union is the only country to actually build up an antiballistic missile defense system around its capital, Moscow. The Soviet Union is the only country that has a system of antisatellite weapons which is

ready for use and which it has tested in space. Ladies and gentlemen, where were your protests? Why did you not go out into the streets and squares then? [applause]

The Soviet Union is modernizing its strategic defense system around Moscow. You know as well as I do that thousands of Soviet researchers work in that field. That Soviet research -- my FDP colleague just drew attention to it -- has progressed far in important fields of technology such as laser research and the exploration of particle radiation. Some experts say that they have advanced farther than many Western countries.

Ladies and gentlemen, by the same token it is true that Soviet research has been going on for more than 15 years. And, Deputy Ehmke, I have been in office for more than 3 years. When you conducted government business here, what did you do in the dialogue with the Soviet Union to draw attention to those things?

All this indicates that the Soviet Union has, earlier and more consistently than the United States, pursued a systematic and serious implementation of strategic missile defense. The Soviet leadership claims that everything it does is in keeping with the ABM Treaty. None of us is in a position to verify whether that contention is true or not.

At any rate, the Soviet Union and its propaganda machinery has succeeded in diverting attention from its own research and its own developments, and we have heard nothing of what you have done to enlighten the people. On the contrary, you merely talk about U.S. research, withholding what the Soviet Union has done. [applause]

Ladies and gentlemen of the SPD, is it not amazing that the United States repeatedly declares with reference to the SDI research program that it is acting in conformity with treaties and observing the ABM Treaty? You then question those statements. Why is it that you believe the Soviet protestation while constantly raising your skeptical questions about our most important alliance partner, who has for decades helped guarantee our security and peace in Europe? This, after all, must have some motive, which needs to be pondered. I tell you that the Americans are prepared to open the research institutes and allow visits; the Soviet Union would not dream of granting us comparable options.

Ladies and gentlemen, our attitude toward the U.S. SDI research program must be adapted to our long-term interests and objectives. It remains our most important political objective to safeguard peace, reliably prevent wars, and drastically to reduce the armament level in general and in nuclear weapons in particular. We approve the joint U.S.-Soviet statement of 8 January 1985 which forms the basis of the present efforts to prevent an arms race on earth and in space. In that respect the Strategic Defense Initiative may well be an important vehicle. On the one hand, we cannot but find today that the Soviet Union has submitted drastic reduction proposals only after the U.S. President promulgated his initiative in March 1983; on the other hand, it may be even more realistic to pursue a reduction plan that would render offensive nuclear weapons increasingly more useless through defense systems rather than trying to achieve the goal through defense systems rather than trying to achieve the goal through negotiations.

Ladies and gentlemen, beyond that, defense systems will provide the certainty that despite the remaining capability of building nuclear weapons, it would be nonsensical to do so. There are many indications today that a total abolition of all nuclear weapons, which we also desire, will not likely be attainable in the foreseeable future. Conversely, it is quite conceivable to set up a new system of strategic stability in which both sides come to terms on a drastic reduction of offensive nuclear systems, establish a drastic reduction of offensive nuclear systems, establish a limited number of strategic defense systems, maybe only ground-based, in a joint interpretation of strategic stability taking into account the overall military power ratio.

Despite the current controversies and differences, the superpowers have parallel interests and objective obligations which could, however, also lead to an understanding. The huge arms burdens and the uncertainty about technological and strategic developments offer a real chance to bring East and West closer together. Without expecting too much from Moscow's statements, we recognize a growing flexibility in the Soviet leadership.

On the road from the present state of overarmament to a new system of strategic stability with fewer weapons, there are, of course, risks that must be overcome. The security of the alliance as a whole must remain politically and militarily guaranteed. Europe's security, including Germany's security, must not be of secondary importance. [applause] Conventional imbalances are becoming more dangerous and must be limited.

Mr Bahr, you are nodding and smiling. Why did you not vote to extend military service this week, which is a prerequisite for creating a balance? [applause] You cannot be against the extension of military service and at the same time advocate the elimination of imbalances.

The risk of a new arms race can and must be eliminated by a resolute arms control policy. [shouts]

Ladies and gentlemen, your presence here essentially consists of making offensive remarks. That is largely your contribution. [applause] You appear here as representatives of pacifism, and you have introduced a note here which reminds us of the worst times of the Weimar Republic. [applause, shouts] However, I said earlier that Bonn is not Weimar. We will yield to neither leftist nor rightist fascism in this republic. [applause, shouts]

Ladies and gentlemen, the Federal Government continues to see that there is an interrelationship between offensive and defensive arms. A clearly reduced number of offensive systems will determine the issue of the necessity and quantity of space-based defensive systems, as I had already said in my statement in March 1985. I am convinced that research in the Soviet Union and in the United States will thoroughly change the strategic conditions which until now have preserved peace in freedom. German and European security interests are directly affected by it. Therefore, political common sense makes it absolutely necessary to prepare now for such foreseeable developments.

Ladies and gentlemen, if we want to continue to preserve our security interests we must not only be informed about those processes but we must also try to gain as much influence over them as possible. That is why we want to be constantly in touch with the United States on the state and development of the SDI program. The SDI program must not separate us Europeans from the United States -- not technologically, not strategically, not politically.

Ladies and gentlemen, I do not know why you comment on that program and the negotiations by Colleague Bangemann in the way you have done here. The Italian Government, led by your political friend Craxi, is currently conducting similar negotiations. The Italians are about to conclude a similar program. Great Britain also did it. [shouts]

Colleague Vogel, your interjection about France is equally absurd. You know as well as I do -- if you were in my place, you would say that my excitement shows my guilty conscience [laughter, shouts, applause] -- your excitement in my view only shows how uninformed you are. That is something entirely different. [applause, shouts] As for

France, colleague Vogel, what did President Francois Mitterrand say? He said -- and I quote -- At this point the French Government is not participating in the SDI program. Period. However, at the same time he did nothing to prevent the French enterprises, which are entirely state-owned, from being the first to conclude contracts with the Pentagon on SDI programs. [applause, shouts]

It is clear for everyone to see that France -- excuse me, I do not blame him for anything, you only wrongly claim him for yourselves. That is something entirely different. You are dealing with facts in a very disturbing way, ladies and gentlemen. [commotion] It is clear for everyone to see that given the different economic structures between the FRG and France -- we have no nationalized industries, the German Government and the German Parliament have no influence whatever on orders given or received by German enterprises, whereas in France the government clearly can give instructions to nationalized enterprises. The French do not have to consider a number of ... agreements because they have direct access. Everybody can see that. You know that as well as I do. [shouts]

Excuse me, the FRG [words indistinct], and Mr Strauss is not the Federal Republic. [shouts] But Mr Vogel, Mr Strauss also is not [commotion] [words indistinct]. Ladies and gentlemen, I think we should forget about colleague Vogel's Franz-Josef Strauss complex and return to SDI. [commotion]

Ladies and gentlemen, information, consultation, and participation in research are indispensable elements of the Federal Government's long-term policy aimed at the cohesion of the alliance and ensuring peace in Europe. Ladies and gentlemen of the SPD, you condemned the SDI research program. As Volker Ruehe rightly said, you thereby have withdrawn from the decisionmaking process which, to a decisive degree, also affects our national security interests. I regret that. In fact, it has become a problem for the Social Democrats to continue to move away from their previous ideas.

That applies primarily to security and defense policy. Mr Vogel, those who demand the rescinding of counterarmament before the Geneva negotiations have come to an end, know full well that they will accomplish nothing. Those who negotiate a nuclear-free zone in central Europe with the SED in East Berlin know that they can exert no positive international influence. [applause]

Ladies and gentlemen, those who -- in this situation, where we must all join efforts -- negotiate on a chemical weapons-free zone with the communist parties of the GDR and the CSSR, while in Geneva they are striving for a worldwide ban, must know that they give up their opportunity to exert influence.

Ladies and gentlemen, those who demand that NATO not have a structural offensive capability [strukturelle nicht-angriffsfaehigkeit], thus directly opposing NATO strategy, know very well what path they have taken -- we say that frankly. By the way, because you were speaking about honesty, Mr Ehmke the most honest man among you, pleasantly honest, completely frank, is Mr Lafontaine. He says what many of you think. [applause] He says: We will leave NATO integration by withdrawing the Bundeswehr. That is the new policy pursued by the majority of the German Social Democrats. [applause] You should not talk about reliability.

Mr Vogel, we learn that you visited Beijing and reported that the Beijing state leadership denounces SDI. You should not have to go there for that reason; I could have assured you of that as well. The PRC's interests are completely different. It is the interest of the PRC and its capital Beijing that the Germans and Europeans say in the debate on the SS-20: We will not tolerate them being transferred from the European part to the Asian part of the USSR. That is in the PRC's favor.

But let me ask you: Why did Mr Rau -- who was in Israel at the same time -- why did Mr Rau not take the opportunity to speak with your Israeli political friend, with Shimon Peres, about that. You could have learned a lot. And you, who on any occasion make yourself the guardians of those interests, why do you not say that, for instance, Israeli participation in SDI is of vital interest, and that I got a lot of encouragement from there, from your socialist friends and partners. Let me summarize our position in a few sentences.

First, security policy problems must be seen and assessed within the context of East-West relations. That also applies to the SDI research program.

Second, both world powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, do research work in the field of antiballistic missiles defense. The results of that research work will change strategic conditions in the world. Strategic defensive systems will then play a new role.

Third, in view of such developments, political efforts are necessary for a new cooperative security system between the two world powers.

Fourth, there are risks and it is our duty to contribute to making those risks controllable. That requires a cooperative attitude among the alliance partners, but also, ladies and gentlemen, making use of joint East-West interests. That can only be achieved by dialogue and cooperation.

German and European interests require that we prepare ourselves for this development of the future, that we exert political influence in order to safeguard our national interests. That alone dictates our policy. [vigorous applause]

Ehmke Opposes FRG Involvement

LD171156 Hamburg DPA in German 0840 GMT 17 Apr 86

[Text] [no dateline as received] -- "We insist on the publication of the agreement along with the accompanying correspondence," was the demand of the SPD political leader Horst Ehmke in the SDI debate. His party is decidedly against this "collective blackout." The SPD's main criticism remains the now documented support for Reagan's space project. The deputy chairman of the SPD group in the Bundestag accused the Federal chancellor of striving to conclude the agreement on SDI research and technological exchange mainly in the party's interest and not in the interest of the entire country.

Ehmke told the Federal minister of economic affairs that it was "simply not true" that these were nonmilitary treaties. The proof to the contrary was provided by the U.S. attitude to a nuclear test ban, which Washington refused because further nuclear tests were needed for SDI research. Bangemann's much-vaunted equation of FRG and U.S. companies in SDI research was in truth a dangerous submission, said Ehmke, since the U.S. companies [as received] would be subject to considerable, national restrictions.

In a sharply worded retort, Volker Ruehe, deputy chairman of the CDU/CSU party group, turned the tables and accused the SPD of doing dangerous damage to FRG interests through "foot-dragging in the alliance." He also accused the opposition of tendencies toward left-wing radical anti-Americanism, revealed in the use of word "lickspittels" by Egon Bahr.

Ruehe did not think the secrecy of the agreement was an important point for discussion, because the critical issues could be discussed "without our having to go to the Bundestag office for protection of secret material." On behalf of his party group, Ruehe welcomed the agreements and congratulated Kohl on them because the FRG, in contrast with the SPD's view, could have more influence over SDI research. "Anyone who sees it differently is damaging FRG interests."

Ruehe was reserved in his remarks about a nuclear test ban. An end to the tests alone would not remove a single nuclear weapon, the CDU politician said. The Soviet Union should declare its willingness to go into parallel negotiations on disarmament and a test ban; perhaps then intermediate steps such as Chancellor Kohl's suggestion of a temporary pause in nuclear tests would be possible.

Woerner Rejects SPD 'Accusation'

LD171206 Hamburg DPA in German 1051 GMT 17 Apr 86

[Excerpt] [no dateline as received] -- The SPD accusation that the Federal Government shares political responsibility for a program to build new strategic weapons was rejected by Defense Minister Manfred Woerner as a "crude distortion." Woerner repeated the coalition parties' argument that only participation in SDI could also ensure the ability to exert influence in favor of European interests. Concerns about possible future developments in the FRG's policy toward the East expressed by Egon Bahr (SPD), were answered by Woerner, who said that a "rational policy toward the East" could only be made by someone who "does not bend a knee" to Moscow. This distinguishes his own position from that of the SPD with its "preemptive capitulation" to Soviet interests.

Paper Analyzes Debate, Kohl Speech

DW181145 Frankfurt/Mainz FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 18 Apr 86 p 12

[Editorial signed C.G.: "Initiative of the Chancellor"]

[Text] Bonn, 17 Apr -- The quarrel about a state guarantee for the participation of German firms in U.S. SDI research should eventually come to an end after Thursday's Bundestag debate. The coalition gave a strange performance because the FDP agreed only with difficulty to agree to what was necessary. A result has been achieved now whose basic lines have been outlined to Parliament; every deputy can read the texts, although they are not supposed to be published. The SPD gives the impression that it does not want to know the details in order more easily to condemn the whole thing. The chancellor complicated the debate with a new arms control concept: In contrast to Reagan's vision of a future free of nuclear weapons, and in contrast to Gorbachev's proposal, Kohl calls the dismantling of all nuclear weapons unlikely.

Instead, understanding among the big powers on strategic stability should include the entire ratio of strength of all kinds of weapon, and lead to a decrease in offensive nuclear systems and the establishment of a limited number of defensive weapons on the SDI pattern. The SPD did not give an answer to that; the initiative stayed with the chancellor.

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CSO: 5200/2675

U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

SOVIET WEEKLY ASSESSES U.S. 'UNCONSTRUCTIVE' STANCE

Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 16, 27 Apr-4 May 86 p 5

[Article by Valentin Falin: "Is it Worth it Today To Generate the Problems of Tomorrow?"]

[Text]

Today we—in our respective countries and on the international scene—are determining the face of the planet and civilization, not so much of the current century which is drawing to its close, but of the one which will come after it. We determine this by what we produce, what we develop, what new weapon systems we make. We do this, admitting to ourselves that nuclear weapons are not the most horrible of the likely kinds of armaments. Something more terrible may appear. Therefore the struggle against nuclear weapons and for deatomization is only part of the common struggle for a civilized world, for new relationships on Earth.

The face of the 21st century will depend on how we bring up our children and grandchildren, what thoughts we instill into their minds and what feelings into their hearts. How will our children look at you—and your children, at us? This, first and foremost, will shape the character of future relations and of the future world.

It's Not Individuals Alone That Matter

Are the socialist and capitalist countries, the West and East, the North and South, doomed to live in eternal confrontation, conflicts and quarrels? We say: 'By no means'. It is not preordained that humanity should advance from one crisis to another. We are convinced—and this was strongly demonstrated at the 27th CPSU Congress—that it is possible and necessary to clean the world of the material causes that generated conflicts yesterday and to prevent the emergence of new stimulants that would spawn conflict tomorrow.

What is needed for this? First and foremost, there is a need to be honest with oneself and to have a clear idea why everything has been going so wrong during the past 40 years.

As a Georgian saying has it, 'Whoever doesn't know the beginning will not understand the end either'. Why, after the war which cost 55 million human lives, did the countries which had not quite ended it already start to prepare for another? Who and what predetermined this development?

It would be a great oversimplification to believe that the current

tension is simply a result of unconstructive actions of the present US administration. Reagan will retire at the time laid down by the American Constitution. And what will happen then—will US policy necessarily change? Personally I strongly doubt this.

The problem of American policy does not boil down to that of personages. The presidents, all their powers notwithstanding, are no more than the executive power. They fulfil the role assigned to them by the domestic processes in the United States, by the very lineup of the

forces and the very development which in 1945 impelled Washington to betray its allied duty and embark upon the road of confrontation with the USSR, the road of reneging on everything that we had agreed upon with the United States, with President Roosevelt and then with President Truman. Moreover, American ruling circles were perfectly well aware that the Soviet Union wanted and sought mutual understanding with the USA – and now declassified American documents bear eloquent witness to this effect.

Washington needed an arms race not to repulse some mythical Soviet threat, as it was officially announced. No, it was a means of bringing pressure to bear on, and economically

exhausting, the Soviet Union, a means of ousting the USSR from positions to which it had emerged as a result of victory in the war. The American leadership saw armed strength as the answer to all the problems and a justification of all its arbitrary acts. From this extend the threads to many phenomena of present-day America. The latter day concepts of globalism and hegemonism, comprising the political credo of American military doctrines, are rooted in this.

I have no desire to say anything unfriendly about the United States. We are confronted with facts which must be analyzed. It is unpleasant to see them, it is unpleasant to hear about them. But they do exist and, as such, must be dealt with.

The orientation towards leadership towards the leading role of the United States is part of the administration's official position. It was proclaimed anew by President Jimmy Carter on December 13, 1979, in the context of the decision on the deployment of American missiles in Western Europe and the many year long programme for the nation's rearmament. This orientation was readily taken over and toughened by Ronald Reagan.

And what is a leading role in the world? The USA claims the right to dictate to everyone how he or she should live and even think. It would also like to lecture the Soviet Union, to be the arbiter and leader for us. But we will not allow anyone to guide us.

We Can Count

What is happening in Europe? According to American estimates, one American submarine operating from a base in Europe is equivalent in its actual combat efficiency to two and a half boats of this kind operating from the eastern coast of the United States. The USSR has no military bases advanced close to American territory. This means that the US submarines in Scotland or Italy amount to a correspondingly multiplied war potential, moreover, a potential of the first strike.

We can count. Russians have always been good mathematicians. Washington assures that Pershing 2 missiles are a reply to the SS 20 missiles. We could cite NATO and American documents dating to 1967, 1969 and 1976-1977, which say that the Soviet missiles were a pretext for the deployment of US missiles, that Europe had been fitted out with preemptive strike weapons intended to "behead" the Soviet Union.

To get an authentic picture of the goings-on, it will be recalled that the Single Integrated Operational Plan (SIOP-5d), which is now in force, envisages the destruction, with the use of nuclear weapons, of 40,000 targets on the territory of the USSR, other Warsaw Treaty countries, some neutral states of Europe, and also some NATO allies of the USA. SIOP-6, according to some data, is a plan which is being drawn up that is already geared for the destruction of over 50,000 targets. If we collate the figures in the existing plans with the actions of the United States, we shall find out that, regrettably, there is a logic in its actions. Therefore we

state in the event of nuclear conflict, Europe doesn't have the slightest chance of surviving. This is no exaggeration of the danger, nor are we trying to lay the paint on thick. For Europe it is indeed a question of life and death.

More about boats. One British submarine with Trident 2 missiles can destroy all the cities in the European part of the USSR with a population of over 100,000. Just one single submarine. A question naturally arises: why is it necessary to have not one, but four such submarines? And, in general, why is it necessary to have so many weapons?

And here as well, if we are sufficiently honest with ourselves, we'll have to admit a very alarming fact. We have passed the stage when nuclear weapons could be palmed off in propaganda as a "political instrument". The time has come when they can act as a combat weapon with a "practical" use. All development in the nuclear field is proceeding from this angle.

Where is the way out? Much to our regret, it has to be concluded that after the implementation of NATO's "dual-track decision" on Pershing and cruise missiles, Western Europe's capability to contain the policy of the USA has drastically shrunk. From declassified American documents it follows that, although the North Atlantic pact extends to a definite geographic region, the USA – in its military planning – has tied its allies to operations all over the world. "Neoglobalism" in American policy is

not merely a slogan. It exists in a specific policy and in specific military development.

There is one more essential moment. The Soviet Union has renounced the first use of nuclear weapons. Formally rejecting the USSR's position, the Americans take it realistically into account, in a peculiar and selfish way. In the new naval doctrine, provision is made for the delivery by the United States of the first strike with non-nuclear weapons, at Soviet nuclear targets, in the hope that this will not allow a nuclear retaliation from the USSR.

The same concept underlies the FOFA (Follow-On Force Attack).

doctrine recently approved by the North Atlantic bloc allegedly to preempt offensive operations from the East. The NATO armed forces must be prepared to deliver strikes with 'non nuclear weapons' reaching 500 and more km into the depth of the Warsaw Treaty countries. By 'non nuclear weapons' they mean new generation armaments ensuring an increase in their strike capabilities by one order and more. And please note, this is the same concept announced for the American Strategic Defense Initiative a strike with non nuclear weapons as it were at the strategic nuclear weapons of the other side to neutralize its correspond-

ing capability ('As it were' because, unlike the President who advertises SDI as a method for neutralizing nuclear weapons without the use of the atoms, his Secretary of Defense bluntly says that nuclear devices will be a component of strike space systems).

The question, clearly, is of deliberately speculative calculations. They, however, are indicative of the American leadership's train of thought. And the West European members of NATO are being stubbornly dragged into this way of thinking.

The European Interest. What Does It Lie in?

The Soviet Union has not sought, nor is it seeking, pretexts for any conflicts with Europe. Conversely, we take close to heart the idea of long term cooperation with European countries. It is this cooperation that we had in mind when we concluded economic agreements transcending the framework of the 20th century with France, the Federal Republic of Germany and some other states. There were some who looked askance at this.

A delicate and complicated question arises: must Europe express its own interests, which are not identical to American interests, especially the American politico-military interest? If so, in what way must it do this? The question is not of dividing Western Europe and the USA. The West Europeans themselves in the past determined and will determine in the future, the nature of their own relations with the United States. And should anyone venture to meddle in these relations, to increase the width of the Atlantic, the effect will be the opposite: the West Europeans will ally themselves the more closely and intimately with the Americans.

Let them mind their own business, for God's sake. But let them have no grudge against the Soviet Union if we and our friends do not close our eyes to the facts. American weapons have been advanced to positions located six minutes' flying time from the Soviet Union and one minute from the GDR and Czechoslovakia. Their being put to use on orders from across the ocean would mean an end to all and sundry. This is not an exaggeration, but a reality.

When Talks Can Be Successful

Everything can be solved by political, and only by political, means. But negotiations, too, can have a very different meaning. From 1946 until the early 1960s, until Kennedy's presidency, the USA negotiated with us with one sole purpose - to register possible concessions from the USSR or to prove that productive dialogue with us was "impossible" and thereby to justify the pursuit of a policy from a position of strength.

Then, following a long and tortuous road which knew its ups and downs, we arrived at detente. It is perhaps worth mentioning here one episode in connection with this. In May 1972 the USSR and the USA formulated the basic principles of their relations. How much time did it take to dovetail this fundamental document? Less than forty-eight hours! There was no hurry. Simply the aims of both powers coincided. They considered it necessary and possible to declare war, especially nuclear war, inadmissible, and proclaimed their intention to resolve all problems in keeping with the standards of equality and respect for each

other and for each other's interests. As a result, a number of important treaties and agreements were signed in the sphere of arms control, and a beginning of long term development was marked, which - had it not been artificially interrupted by the American side - would have led to a more stable and safer world for all nations to live in.

When the belligerent groups of the so-called neoconservatives gained the upper hand in Washington, international relations were again stood upside down. Detente for them was like a red cloth before a bull. They link their own future - palmed off as the future of the United States and the West as a whole - to force - and force, above all. Even talks for them are a place to demonstrate their "will" and present ultimatums, and not a place to compare notes in a reasonable, balanced way so as to find a common denominator.

It is not talks, when one side tells the other: either you accept our demands or it's going to be worse for you. That is dictation. Talks and

agreements can only be a product of equitable relations between countries. Agreements must be mutually advantageous, and not give preference to one party at the expense of the other. The USSR is ready for this. It is prepared to respect American interests to the extent that the USA is ready to respect ours. In his State of the Union message to Congress in January 1945 the President of the United States quoted the words of his compatriot Ralph Waldo Emerson: "If you want to have a friend, be a friend." The USSR is ready to be a friend of the United States.

But it's exactly for the sake of peace and friendship that we cannot abandon the truth just because the USA today has pledged allegiance to a false idea. The USSR will not seek a compromise between the arms race and those truths in which the whole of Europe believed and which practically the whole world, including the United States itself, supported a mere ten years ago. There is no denying that the USA is powerful. But even it is powerless to make truth into untruth overnight.

Not To Lose Control

International relations have found themselves at a crossroads on more than one occasion. Today the solution of most problems depends wholly and exclusively on the goodwill of states, on the goodwill of their leaders.

Such is the case today. It is possible that even tomorrow the chances will not be depleted. But the day is not far off when the factor of goodwill will recede into the background or to a tertiary ground, because man has come near to losing control over his own progenies - military technolo-

gies. If things develop in the way being programmed by the United States, a situation is quite conceivable when the fate of one or another continent, and of life on Earth in general, will be decided by computers. And humanity's chance is to think, and think twice, before it allows itself to be ruled by automatic devices. All the difficulties and problems, now besetting civilization, have been created by people. All future difficulties will also mainly be people's own doing. So is it worth it today to generate the problems of tomorrow? Wouldn't it be better to turn them into things of the past?

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CSO: 5200/1351

U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

FRG LEADERS VIEW GORBACHEV CONVENTIONAL ARMS PROPOSAL

Genscher: 'Signal for Dialogue'

LD191111 Hamburg DPA in German 1029 GMT 19 Apr 86

[Text] Bonn, 19 Apr (DPA) -- Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher advocates a thorough examination and discussion of the proposals made by Soviet party chief Mikhail Gorbachev on conventional disarmament. In a preliminary comment, he assessed Gorbachev's initiative on Saturday as a signal to continue the West-East dialogue.

Genscher said in an interview for West German radio that Gorbachev was also dealing in his proposals with the FRG's concerns about the "considerable Soviet superiority" in Europe in the conventional sector. He especially welcomed the readiness expressed by Gorbachev to check Soviet measures in conventional disarmament on location.

The foreign minister advocated that Gorbachev's proposals also be discussed thoroughly in NATO. Even a conventional war would mean, in practice, given the level of weapons technology, that the European peoples would be extinguished.

Genscher stressed that nobody can say today what the Soviet proposals contained in detail. But everybody has the duty to examine through talks and negotiations whether it is possible to reach progress. "We, at least, are determined to carry out such an examination," he said.

On Gorbachev's criticism of the Federal Government, Genscher said that the general secretary had stated at the same time that the Federal Republic was also an important factor in Soviet policy. This is a realistic assessment, he said, and ought to cause the Soviet Union to take the FRG'S concerns about Soviet conventional superiority seriously.

Genscher Renews Call for Talks

LD201038 Hamburg DPA in German 0955 GMT 20 Apr 86

[Excerpt] Neuss, 20 Apr (DPA) -- FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher has renewed his call for East-West negotiations on the latest proposals from Soviet Party leader Mikhail Gorbachev on arms reductions. He who gave the Soviet proposals on the reduction of conventional weapons the "stamp of noncredibility" right from the start, and polemicized against them, lost his own disarmament policy credibility, Genscher said today at the North Rhine-Westphalian FDP Party conference in Neuss. Now we have to go to the negotiation table and "do things properly."

Woerner Assessment

DW210915 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German 1710 GMT 20 Apr 86

[Interview with Defense Minister Manfred Woerner in Stuttgart by "Bonner Perspektiven" moderator Peter Hopen in Bonn -- live]

[Text] [Hopen]. Good day, Mr Minister. Thank you for having come to the Stuttgart studio. Your cabinet colleague Genscher discovered that the Gorbachev proposals contain some new and remarkable elements. What is new and what is remarkable?

[Woerner] There are three interesting elements: First, willingness to include conventional and tactical nuclear weapons; second, the defining the area of reduction from the Atlantic to the Urals which means including parts of the Soviet Union; and third, the willingness to allow on-the-spot inspections -- though Gorbachev adds: if necessary.

[Hopen] Is what is happening there mere propaganda or do you think it is serious?

[Woerner] Of course it is also directed at the public. It is attractive, and it is meant to stir up emotions in the Western democracies. But I would not consider it mere propaganda. We, the Europeans, and in particular the Germans, are extremely interested in conventional disarmament, because it is in that field that the imbalance is the greatest. That means we will take Gorbachev at his word. He must now proceed to action -- that is, he must proceed to action when negotiations are held. Then we will know whether it was propaganda or whether they are serious proposals. They are still somewhat general. Questions will come up that can and must be answered.

[Hopen] What are the principles that you consider must particularly be taken into account when negotiating with the Soviets?

[Woerner] Well, the Soviet Union has the advantage in conventional weapons. It will have to reduce it. After that, there is the problem of verification, the problem of control. Let me give you an example. The negotiators in Vienna refuse to agree to verification based on suspicion, which we envisage for checking on troop strength. If Gorbachev is serious about what he said, the Soviet negotiators in Vienna must change their attitude. We will make that point right away. We will question them. We have been negotiating there on arms control for more than 11 years -- without great success so far. Besides, Gorbachev still has other opportunities to show his good will: We have always invited observers from the Soviet Union and the East bloc to our maneuvers. That is something he could do as well, instead of refusing it as he has done in the past. Or let me give you another example: We have unilaterally withdrawn 2,400 tactical nuclear weapons from Europe. He could follow suit. In their organization and personnel strength our Armed Forces are strictly defensive. Gorbachev could unilaterally follow our advance concessions. He has quite a number of opportunities to prove his desire for disarmament by deeds and so do we.

[Hopen] Thank you very much, Mr Minister.

Woerner: MBFR Talks as Test

LD181719 Hamburg DPA in German 1519 GMT 18 Apr 86

[Text] Bonn, 18 Apr (DPA) -- The Federal Government is interested in a reduction of conventional arms. This was said by Federal Defense Minister Manfred Woerner in Bonn today on the fringe of a celebration of the 35th anniversary of the Association of German Soldiers in reply to proposals on this issue from Soviet party leader Mikhail Gorbachev in East Berlin.

If the Soviet Union, as Gorbachev has now announced, is prepared to enter into balanced and mutual reductions of conventional potential, "then I welcome that", Woerner stressed. The test of this stated intention will however, come at the negotiating table. There, at the troop reduction talks in Vienna, the Soviet Union has the opportunity of taking up the West's suggestions. It has not done so up to now.

Woerner went on to say that, so far, the Soviet Union has not agreed to the necessary inspections either. "If Mr Gorbachev is really serious about his proposals, then that must lead to a change of the Soviet stance in Vienna." We have to find out what Gorbachev really means by "on-site inspections".

Ost: Welcome 'in Principle'

LD181625 Hamburg DPA in German 1548 GMT 18 Apr 86

[Text] Bonn, 18 Apr (DPA) -- On behalf of the Federal Government, State Secretary Friedhelm Ost has said that Gorbachev's proposals contain new elements which would have to be carefully considered by Bonn and its allies. Ost said today that, in principle, the government welcomes the fact that Gorbachev is now devoting a special disarmament proposal to the conventional sector as well. Only further specific details will show whether the legitimate security interests of the West Europeans and the Atlantic alliance will be preserved. Ost said Gorbachev's most recent proposals augment the Soviet disarmament program outlined in January. They take account of the worries about the conventional balance of power expressed on many occasions by Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Todenhoefer: U.S. Troops Needed

LD200731 Hamburg DPA in Germany 2301 GMT 19 Apr 86

[Text] Hamburg, 19 Apr (DPA) -- The disarmament policy spokesman of the CDU/CSU Bundestag party group, Juergen Todenhoefer, described the proposals from the Soviet party leader Mikhail Gorbachev on disarmament in the conventional sphere as a highly interesting supplement to his nuclear disarmament proposals of 15 January 1986. The CDU/CSU would consider Gorbachev's proposals carefully and in a constructive spirit. The decidedly positive thing about Gorbachev's proposals was that he indirectly conceded that a worldwide reduction of all nuclear weapons without simultaneous far-ranging conventional disarmament was not sufficient.

On the other hand, Gorbachev's demand for a complete withdrawal of U.S. forces from Europe was not acceptable. The presence of the U.S. troops is and remains the indispensable prerequisite of the preservation of the peace and freedom of Western Europe. If it wants to survive, Western Europe must not allow itself to be uncoupled from the United States.

SALT/START ISSUES

SOVIET AIR DEFENSE DEPUTY CHIEF NOTES U.S. BOMBER PLANS

PM181310 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Apr 86 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with Colonel General of Aviation I. Maltsev, chief of the General Staff and first deputy commander in chief of the Air Defense Forces by correspondent N. Sautin: "Motherland's Clear Skies; 13 April is Air Defense Forces Day" — date, place not given]

[Text] The motherland's air borders stretch for 60,000 km. Igor Mikhaylovich Maltsev is one of those to whom our skies are entrusted. I shall briefly introduce him. After graduating from a military aviation college, he flew as a pilot. He then commanded a flight and a squadron. After training at a military air academy, he commanded a regiment, then a formation. He graduated from the USSR Air Force General Staff Academy. The general has been in his present post since 1984.

[Sautin] The Central Committee Political Report to the 27th CPSU Congress stated: "...It is no secret that scenarios for a nuclear attack against us do exist. We have no right to fail to take them into account." These words should clearly have a special resonance for each air defense serviceman.

[Maltsev] Yes, air defense is now of strategic importance. Washington's militarist course, the siting of the latest means of air attack — nuclear weapon delivery vehicles — in a number of NATO states, the appearance in the Pentagon arsenal of sophisticated modifications to bombers, fighters, and ground-attack aircraft, and other strategic and operational-tactical arms have increased the potential for aggression.

It was stressed at the congress that the USSR's defense might is maintained at a level which makes it possible to reliably defend Soviet people's peaceful labor and lives. The constant combat readiness of the Air Defense Forces is an objective necessity.

[Sautin] As is well known, the antiaircraft missile troops are the main fighting force of the Air Defense Forces. Are they able to ensure the effective defense of the country's important targets?

[Maltsev] In collaboration with fighter aircraft, yes, the antiaircraft missile troops are armed with combat complexes which can hit aircraft, helicopters, drift balloons, and other means of airborne attack with surface-to-air guided missiles.

In order to repulse a surprise air attack some parts of the antiaircraft missile troops, like the other branches of the Air Defense Forces — aviation and electronic troops — are on constant combat standby even in peacetime.

Today the outcome of a battle may be decided in seconds. And in the Air Defense Forces those seconds are won by automating the means of combating the enemy. Automated control systems process information on the situation in the air, determine target coordinates, and transmit the information needed to hit them. The officers achieve the close cooperation between man and machine in companies not only through protracted training but also through in-depth knowledge.

In carrying out a stratospheric training flight in a supersonic fighter-interceptor, Colonel I. Zhukov and Captain A. Abalenstev found themselves in a critical position. They were entitled to eject; but Zhukov decided to land the aircraft. He did the seemingly impossible — the aircraft touched down at the very end of the runway. Col Zhukov was awarded the gold star of a Hero of the Soviet Union.

[Sautin] A great deal is written about the heroic profession of pilots and missile troops. Their action is obvious. But less is known about radio technical troops. Yet without them the air defense aircraft and antiaircraft missile troops would be "blind."

[Sautin] To give the reader an idea of who controls the battle and from where, could we take an imaginary step across the threshold of a command post?

[Maltsev] Certainly. Air Defense Forces' command posts are equipped with modern automation and indication means. The situation in the air is displayed on screens, display panels, and automated direction system consoles.

Modern antiaircraft battles are fast moving. Whereas in the last war a commander could make amendments and corrections during the firing process, today there is no such possibility. A target flying at supersonic speed only enters the firing zone of a complex for a short time. Moreover, the enemy maneuvers in every possible way and uses jamming...

Here we have approached the commander's role and his ability to rapidly and unfailingly react to a continuously changing situation.

[Sautin] Please say something about air defense aircraft

[Mal'tsev] We are armed with supersonic missile-carrying fighters. By using radar sighting (which makes it possible to hit the enemy even without visual contact) and various types of missiles, pilots are able to destroy strategic bombers armed with cruise missiles, helicopters, and automatic drift balloons at all altitudes and velocities. Our aircraft ensure that planes armed with air-to-ground guided missiles can be shot down.

[Sautin] It is possible to intercept a probable enemy's modern means of airborne attack?

[Mal'tsev] Yes, at all altitudes, in any weather conditions, and at any time. Fighter aircraft units have various types of airborne missile interception complexes. These are based on piloted supersonic jet aircraft armed with air-to-air missiles and modern equipment.

Fighter pilots are real fighters. In groups or in dogfights, they engage and destroy the enemy, carrying out the most important things in the great and complex labor of the many fliers who participate in the battle organization and backup. Fighter pilots are typified by irreproachable piloting skills and the ability to instantly assess everything that influences the conduct of the battle.

[Mal'tsev] Indeed, it would be hard to fight a modern battle without reliable radar backup. The radio technical troops — and their vigilance is at an extremely high level — constantly monitor airspace. They are equipped with sensitive electronic equipment which makes it possible to recognize and define an enemy's exact coordinates and direction at long range and at all altitudes.

Lieutenant Colonel V. Dobrynin is one of the radio technical troops' front-ranking officers. The unit he commands has been deemed outstanding for 6 consecutive years. Servicemen at the subunit commanded by Lieutenant Colonel V. Tereshchenko are mastering new radar equipment under complex conditions.

[Sautin] I realize from what you have said that the Air Defense Troops are now able to detect and destroy any means of airborne attack. But are they ready to combat future means involving major electronic countermeasures on the part of the enemy?

[Mal'tsev] Here are a few examples. In accordance with the plans for the expedited buildup of its strategic nuclear potential, the U.S. leadership is modernizing existing bombers and creating new bomber types. Thus, B-52 bombers are being rearmed with long-range — over 2,500 km — cruise missiles. Work is under way to introduce new B-1B strategic bombers into combat use.

Now the foreign press is urgently trumpeting the creation of a new "invisible bomber" with a low radar signature under the "Stealth" program and the possibility that new-generation hypersonic bombers (up to 6,000-7,000 km per hour) and transatmospheric [vorodushno-kosmicheskie] craft will be built.

Pride of place in the militarist program is given to air-, ground-, and sea-launched strategic and tactical cruise missiles and high-toxicity weapons systems and means. Increases not only in the range (up to and including intercontinental range) and the velocity of these means are envisaged.

There is an eternal process of struggle in military matters which is often called the "struggle of armor and shells." In other words, each means of attack constantly gives rise to new means of defense. If necessary we are prepared to fight battles against the enemy's future means, also. Our weapons make us firmly confident of reliable defense against any aggressor.

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CSO: 5200/1341

SALT/START ISSUES

BRIEFS

TASS ON U.S. MISSILE TESTS--San Francisco, April 2 TASS--The Pentagon is conducting tests on new weapon systems at an accelerated pace. A spokesman for the U.S. naval command has said that a Tomahawk cruise missile was test-fired in the Pacific off the shores of California. The missile was launched from a submerged submarine and hit a land target. In March, two tests of Minuteman-3 intercontinental ballistic missiles were conducted, and an MX missile was test-fired. [Text] [Moscow TASS in English 0600 GMT 2 Apr 86 LD] /12858

CSO: 5200/1341

INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR FORCES

SOVIET GENERAL CHERVOV EXPLAINS EUROPEAN MISSILE BALANCE

AU141303 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 10 Apr 86 p 6

[Article by Colonel General Nikolay Chervov: "The Soviet Proposal On Intermediate-Range Missiles; Important Issue of Security in Europe"]

[Text] In the joint Soviet-American statement on the results of the meeting between CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President R. Reagan in Geneva, the representatives of the two states favored the speedy achievements of progress in spheres where points of concurrence exist, including in particular the idea of a preliminary agreement on intermediate-range missiles in Europe.

Thus, both sides have great responsibility with regard to realizing this achieved agreement. Without a bilateral endeavor it is impossible to achieve real progress here. Concrete deeds are needed, leading to attainment of the set objective.

Regarding the USSR, it affirms with word and deed its firm intention to achieve the fulfillment of the Geneva agreement. It exerts a maximum effort to rid Europe of nuclear weapons completely -- both intermediate-range as well as tactical weapons. The appropriate Soviet proposals are laying on the negotiating table in Geneva. The USSR's good-will is attested to by the measures it has unilaterally adopted: suspending the further deployment of intermediate-range missiles in Europe; rescinding the state of alert of a part of the SS-20 missiles which have been deployed in retaliation to the American Pershing-2 and cruise missiles; as well as dismantling their fixed installations.

In his statement of 15 January Mikhail Gorbachev submitted a radical new proposal -- the proposal to liquidate Soviet and American intermediate-range missiles in the European zone. What is involved here are, on the American side, the Pershing-2 and cruise missiles deployed in Western Europe and, on the Soviet side, the intermediate-range missiles deployed in that region. The United States and USSR will physically liquidate these missiles and will not transfer them to other regions or hand them over to other countries. Following the fulfillment of these commitments, one envisages thorough and strict supervision, national and international, with all means, including on-site verification (inspection).

The new Soviet proposal is flexible and constructive. It creates realistic prerequisites for an agreement, taking into consideration the USSR's expressed willingness to conclude this agreement with the United States on the liquidation of intermediate-range missiles in the European region, without any immediate connection with the problems of strategic weapons and outer space. The only requirement is that the United States does not supply its strategic missiles and intermediate-range missiles to other countries

(that would block the channel for possible circumvention of the future agreement) and Britain and France do not increase their corresponding nuclear weapons (issues concerning this problem could be the subject of a direct exchange of view with Britain and France).

It is not difficult to see what the fact that the nuclear weapons of Britain and France are not counted means. It involves a compromise variant that disturbs the logic of the arms race. It would be unnatural if, at a time when the United States and the USSR were to reduce their nuclear potential, Britain and France were to increase the quantity of their nuclear weapons. Even now their missiles have more than 500 nuclear warheads, and in the coming decade their number will reach 1,200 units. Under conditions of radical reduction of the appropriate U.S. and USSR nuclear weapons (by 50 percent, to 6,000 nuclear projectiles for both sides) and the liquidation of the American and Soviet intermediate-range missiles in the European region, the share of the British and French nuclear potential in the mutual strategic correlation between NATO and the Warsaw Pact would substantially increase. In other words, the realization of the British and French plans -- in case an agreement with the United States is reached -- would lead to NATO's unilateral military advantages.

Therefore, London and Paris' commitment not to increase their nuclear weapons would constitute a positive contribution to the common project of nuclear disarmament. They would ensure strategic stability in a period when a radical reduction in USSR and U.S. nuclear weapons would be taking place.

The Soviet program of nuclear disarmament submitted by Mikhail Gorbachev on 15 January also solves the issue of Soviet intermediate-range missiles in the country's eastern part.

In that region, our intermediate-range devices face the corresponding devices of the United States, which has here about 400 intermediate-range delivery aircraft (the aerial power on 7 aircraft carriers, the F-16 aircraft in Japan, the F-16 and F-4 aircraft in South Korea, in the Philippines, the long-range cruise missiles on the combat vessels Iowa, Missouri, and so forth). The USSR is willing to solve the issue of its intermediate-range missiles in Asia. According to the Soviet program, in 15 years there would be no missiles of any kind there. But at the same time one has to resolve the question of what to do about the American intermediate-range devices deployed in the Far East.

The assertions that the USSR has begun transferring SS-20 missiles from the East to the West are not responsible. The Soviet side has declared more than once that it has no intention of doing anything of the sort. The United States could be reproached for having the same intentions with regard to the transfer of its Pershing-2 missiles to Europe. Well, should additional guarantees be necessary, it would obviously be possible to come to a special agreement that Soviet intermediate-range missiles will not be transferred from the Asian to the European regions -- with corresponding commitments regarding the U.S. missiles. The existing modern devices make the supervision of such an agreement possible.

In harmony with the Soviet nuclear disarmament program other important issues are also being resolved -- the issues of Soviet operational-tactical missiles of enhanced range which have been deployed in retaliation for the Pershing-2 and cruise missiles, and the tactical weapons. If the American intermediate-range missiles in Europe were to be completely liquidated, then the presence of the Soviet operational-tactical missiles deployed there would also become unnecessary. The liquidation of tactical

nuclear weapons -- by all nuclear states -- is envisaged in the program's second stage (beginning in 1990). Thus, in that sphere, too, the USSR is not thinking about any advantages for itself. We want only one thing -- to reduce the level of nuclear counterweight, reinforce general security, and free people from the burden of nuclear weapons.

The liquidation of American and Soviet intermediate-range missiles in Europe would be an important step which would lead to a rapid turn for the better on the European Continent and be favorably reflected in the world situation. A path would be cleared toward a radical reduction of nuclear weapons and their consequent total liquidation. This step can be taken immediately; it is not necessary to waste time with other issues. Now everything depends only on the political will of the American side, on its willingness to use not words but real deeds to fulfill -- constructively and on a bilaterally acceptable basis -- the mutual commitment aimed at accelerating the solution of this problem, enshrined in the joint declaration of 21 November 1985.

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CSO: 5200/1342

INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR FORCES

BRIEFS

TASS ON CRUISE MISSILES IN FRG--Bonn, 28 Mar--The first battery of U.S. nuclear cruise missiles delivered to the FRG this January and deployed in the forest area of Hunsrueck (Rheinland-Pfaltz) has been brought into combat readiness. This was reported by REUTER, citing an FRG Defense Ministry spokesman. Local observers point out that the Pentagon and the NATO bloc have demonstrated yet again their intention to force the deployment of 90 cruise missiles on FRG territory provided for by the notorious 1979 NATO "win-track solution." In accordance with the NATO schedule for deploying the new U.S. nuclear missile weapons in Western Europe, it is planned to carry out the deployment of cruise missiles in the FRG in 1987. [TASS report: "They Are Forcing On..."] [Text] [Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Mar 86 Second Edition p 1 PM] /12858

TASS ON U.S. SLCM TEST--Washington, 23 Apr (TASS)--According to a representative of the U.S. military department, the Pentagon has carried out its first test of a sea-based Tomahawk cruise missile against a land-based target. A cruise missile with a non-nuclear warhead was launched on 1 April from a submerged submarine in the Pacific Ocean at a target 474 miles away. The target was an aircraft on the island of San Clemente off the southern coast of the State of California. The missile approached the target at a speed of around 550 mph and exploded as it was flying over the target aircraft at a height of around 30 meters. According to a Pentagon representative, "the target was destroyed." The launch of the Tomahawk is just one of a whole series of tests on advanced armaments that have been carried out recently in the United States. As a Pentagon representative reported, during joint U.S. Air Force and Navy exercises on Sunday off the shores of Puerto Rico, Harpoon missiles, which are designed to hit ships, were tested. The simultaneous launch of six missiles of this class was carried out. [Text] [Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1030 GMT 23 Apr 86 LD] /12858

CSO: 5200/1342

EUROPEAN CONFERENCES

USSR: REPORTS ON APRIL CD GENEVA SESSION

'Purposeful' Talks Urged

LD101441 Moscow TASS in English 1349 GMT 10 Apr 86

[Text] Geneva April 10 TASS -- The call to begin purposeful, in-depth talks on ending the nuclear arms race and embarking on nuclear disarmament in the framework of the Geneva Conference on Disarmament was made by the head of the USSR delegation Viktor Israelyan.

At today's plenary meeting he called the attention again to the problem of stage-by-stage elimination of nuclear weapons everywhere by the year 2000 advanced in Mikhail Gorbachev's statement of January 15. The program has been positively assessed by broad sections of the world public, has been supported by socialist countries, has evoked a positive response of many non-aligned and neutral states. The wish for the lowering and removal of nuclear danger by the elimination of nuclear arms is manifested in commentaries in a number of Western countries.

By this initiative the Soviet Union has been striving to create a foundation for businesslike talks on practical measures that would lead consistently to the achievement of the goal set, and in the historically foreseeable future, the speaker said. The elimination of nuclear weapons must be accompanied also by corresponding stabilizing cuts in conventional armaments. The Soviet Union does not intend to act in such a way that the arms race, while being blocked in some areas, proceed in others, be it space, chemical or conventional arms. But because of the United States stance, the arms race is on the upward trend, the Soviet representative said.

Gorbachev Program Praised

LD122021 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 12 Apr 86

[Text] The Disarmament Conference is continuing its work in the Geneva Palace of Nations. Our correspondent, Vladimir Dmitriyev, interviewed Viktor Levonovich Israelyan, head of the Soviet delegation, who spoke about the reaction aroused at the conference by the 15 January statement of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev:

[Begin Israelyan recording] The fraternal socialist countries gave us their full support, both in explaining this document, and in joint work at the beginning of the talks on this document at our conference. The representatives of the nonaligned states, Cuba, India, Algeria, Mexico, Argentina and many others, approved the basic tenets of Mikhail Sergeyevich's statement in their speeches, which shows that the Soviet Union's 15 January program is in harmony with the aspirations of the Nonaligned Movement.

The prolongation of the moratorium on any nuclear explosions by the Soviet Union and our proposal to begin multilateral talks at the conference on ending such tests also aroused an exceptionally favorable reaction among many states. But in this question too, placing the affair on a practical level, so to speak, was unsuccessful because of the opposition of the United States, which, as is known, stops in its tracks any proposals, bilateral, trilateral, or multilateral.

The new ideas contained in Mikhail Sergeyevich's statement on the questions of banning chemical weapons, also met with support. In a word, the work is going on very actively and intensively. The Soviet Union, and the other socialist countries with the support of the nonaligned states, persistently aims at getting the good statements, with which the leaders of the Western world associate themselves from time to time, should be implemented as conventions, treaties, agreements on the limitation of the arms race and disarmament. [end recording]

U.S. 'Logic' of Arms Race

LD132253 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1920 GMT 13 Apr 86

[V. Dmitriyev report from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] A regular session of the disarmament conference is continuing its work in Geneva. At the center of attention of those taking part -- and they are the representatives of 40 countries -- is the large-scale initiative of the USSR. The initiative consists of a step-by-step plan for the elimination of weapons of mass destruction. This initiative was supported by the delegations of the socialist countries, and the nonaligned and neutral states responded to it in a positive way.

There are forces at the conference, however, that are opposed to the search for practical solutions in implementing the plan for the elimination of nuclear weapons. These are, first and foremost, the United States. The American delegation, while stating in words the adherence of the United States to peace and disarmament, in fact upholds the logic of the arms race, following instructions from Washington, of course. This kind of approach certainly does not accord with the Geneva spirit. The Soviet side has stressed repeatedly that it is essential to ensure a changeover to intense work aimed at concrete results on the priority issues of the agenda of the conference. One of these is a ban on nuclear weapons tests. The proposal of our country that multilateral talks be started here on halting such tests has given rise to favorable reaction on the part of many states. We are studying with great attention and interests the Soviet initiatives set out in the statement of Gorbachev, the general secretary, says Rolf Ekeus, the head of the Swedish delegation. I believe that the disarmament conference will be able to start examining in practical terms the issues concerning the reduction of nuclear armaments in the very near future, for it is upon the solution of this that the fate of mankind depends.

U.S. Nuclear Testing Hit

PM181459 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Apr 86 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "At the Disarmament Conference"]

[Text] Geneva, 16 Apr -- The Soviet delegation at the Geneva disarmament conference has issued as an official document the Soviet Government statement in connection with the new nuclear explosion carried out by the United States on 10 April. Speaking at a plenary session, V.L. Israelyan, head of the Soviet delegation, stated that the Soviet Union, by twice extending its moratorium despite provocative U.S. challenges, has demonstrated in practice its sincere desire to use any opportunity to turn the unilateral moratorium into a bilateral moratorium and thereby begin a move toward the conclusion of a treaty on banning nuclear tests. Clearly, he went on to say, aware of the reaction they would have to encounter, U.S. officials have recently been bending over backward to prove the unprovable to their people and the entire world -- namely the need and even the "usefulness" of continuing tests. Nonetheless, it is clear to all sober-minded people that the United States needs nuclear tests in order to guarantee itself a position of strength and a position of deterrence, that is what the U.S. Administration's practical actions are aimed at. The Soviet representative also noted that the falsehood of the widely trumpeted U.S. adherence to peace has been seen in the U.S. Armed Forces' barbarous attack on Libya.

The Soviet Union will not give up the struggle to end nuclear weapons tests, V.L. Israelyan said. We reaffirm our proposal to immediately start talks on the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons tests. The Soviet Union's position in favor of starting multilateral talks within the framework of the disarmament conference remains unchanged.

New Soviet Chemical Weapons Proposals

LD221025 Moscow TASS in English 1016 GMT 22 Apr 86

[Text] Geneva April 22 TASS -- Yevgeniy Korzhev, a TASS correspondent, reports:

New Soviet proposals on a ban on chemical weapons, which were announced by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in Berlin, have been tabled at the Geneva Conference on Disarmament today.

These proposals are of a concrete character, stressed Soviet representative Viktor Israelyan. They ensure a timely notification on the siting of plants producing chemical weapons and an end to their production, and make it possible to start drawing up procedures for the destruction of the production base and, shortly after the appropriate convention comes into force, eliminating chemical weapons stocks.

The Soviet Union has proposed that the termination of functioning of the plants producing chemical weapons, as well as their destruction and dismantling should be ensured through strict control, including systematic international on-site inspection.

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CSO: 5200/1343

EUROPEAN CONFERENCES

IZVESTIYA INTERVIEWS SOVIET MBFR, CDE ENVOYS

PM151337 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Apr 86 Morning Edition p 5

[Political Observer V.A. Matveyev "conversation" with V.V. Mikhaylov, leader of the Soviet delegation at the Vienna talks on the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe, and O.A. Grinevskiy, leader of the Soviet delegation at the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe under the rubric "IZVESTIYA's Round Table": "Europe's Mission" -- date and place not given; first two paragraphs are IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] A special mission may be assigned to Europe in implementing a drastic change in favor of a policy of peace. In accordance with the new proposals put forward by our country in the statement by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee on 15 January this year, real measures are envisaged in the disarmament field on our continent in the very near future.

This question is being discussed at the Vienna talks. The Stockholm conference is also an important forum.

Question: What impact have the new Soviet initiatives had on the state of affairs at the conference in Stockholm and the talks in Vienna?

O. Grinevskiy: These initiatives pave the way at the Stockholm conference to the elaboration of accords that take into account the legitimate interests of all sides and the interests of security in Europe.

During last fall's visit to France by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, the Soviet side expressed important views promoting the fundamental normalization of the situation on the continent. They include the idea of mutual exchange of annual plans for military activity subject to notification. This step was greeted positively at the conference. It has initiated not only discussion but also agreement on this important measure, which may become a serious safety device on the path of the emergence of a military conflict in Europe.

The Soviet proposals of 15 January also lead to the solution of one of the main unresolved problems at the conference. These proposals suggest resolving the problem of notification of large-scale military exercises in parts, that is, agreeing right now on providing notification of large-scale ground forces and air force exercises and carrying over the question of naval activity to the next stage of the conference.

This proposal is the focus of the talks. Of course, the reaction to it cannot be called homogenous. For instance, the United States and some NATO countries have had

quite a few good words to say about this initiative. But they hedge around its implementation with a fence of formal stipulations and reservations.

In general, there is a keen political struggle under way at the conference and its outcome is still far from clear. So far, all that has been determined is the range of questions delineating the outline of a possible accord in Stockholm. We have also succeeded in agreeing on the first formulations concerning the nonuse of force, the notification of large-scale military exercises, the exchange of annual plans for military activity subject to notification, the invitation of observers, and others.

V. Mikhaylov: As for the Vienna talks, the situation there remains complex. To this day it is impossible to say whether the United States and its closest NATO allies want to reach a serious agreement in Vienna.

Last year, with a view to overcoming the protracted deadlock and in the search for at least a partial, albeit modest, accord, the USSR, together with the other Warsaw Pact countries taking part in the talks, suggested focusing efforts on the elaboration of an agreement on an initial reduction of ground forces and armaments in central Europe by the Soviet Union and the United States with an undertaking on the subsequent non-increase of the levels of NATO and Warsaw Pact armed forces and armaments in this region.

Such an accord and its implementation would provide useful experience for further talks. Our side specifically suggested a reduction in Soviet and U.S. troops, together with their armaments, of 20,000 and 13,000 men respectively with the relevant mutual observation and subsequently, not increasing for 2 years or, as they say, freezing the sides' armed forces and armaments on a collective and national basis.

Some 10 months later the Western representatives came out with ideas in response. The Western side's reaction is evidence that, while formally agreeing with the general idea and scheme for initial reductions put forward by the socialist countries, the United States and its allies are essentially trying to push through their old, unacceptable aim. If anything in it has changed it is only in the direction of toughening their stance, not the reverse.

Question: How can you describe "the narrowest bottleneck" at the forums in Stockholm and Vienna, preventing a successful conclusion?

O. Grinevskiy: For Stockholm, it is above all the lack of counterproposals toward reaching an accord on the part of the United States and its closest allies. They have no new proposals and they are avoiding the search, which the socialist countries are suggesting, for solutions to unresolved problems. One journalist in Stockholm acidly called this position "a monument of NATO's lack of initiative." As a result, matters at the conference are advancing intolerably slowly.

For instance, take the problem of limiting the dimensions of military exercises. This is an important avenue for building confidence because modern military exercises sometimes acquire such scope that it is hard to distinguish them from the deployment of troops for the initiation of hostilities. The socialist, neutral, and nonaligned countries suggest limiting military exercises to a level that would eliminate these legitimate fears of the European states. But the NATO countries are opposed to this.

V. Mikhaylov: I must say that in Vienna the Western representatives are continuing to arbitrarily try to manipulate the question of verification [kontrol] measures, divorcing these measures from the essence of the proposed agreement and deliberately taking them to unrealistic limits intentionally unacceptable to the other side.

Question: How is this manipulation manifested?

V. Mikhaylov: This flaw in the West's position is manifested, first, in the fact that in connection with the steps to freeze armed forces levels, it is proposed, for instance, to exchange information on the structure of troops, right up to indicating each barracks where the troops are stationed! In addition, attempts are being made to unilaterally achieve a totally unjustified extension of inspection and verification [proverka i kontrol] measures on various pretexts beyond the long since agreed region of reduction, including to the Western regions of the USSR, for instance from Petrozavodsk to Odessa.

At the same time, the West is narrowing to the extreme the actual volume of measures for a real lowering of the level of military antagonism. Thus, the figures for initial reductions have been reduced to 11,500 men for the USSR and 5,000 for the United States. If we suggest reducing troops with their armaments and military equipment, the West categorically refuses.

Nor does it want the level or armaments to be frozen together with the numbers of personnel.

Question: Oleg Alekseyevich, how do matters stand with regard to the conference's examination of the question of the nonuse of force?

O. Grinevskiy: As is well known, this question was put on the agenda of the Stockholm forum at the initiative of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. The United States and its closest NATO allies spent a long time opposing its discussion, but were eventually obliged to embark not only on an examination but also on the drafting of a text of the accord. But here, too, we can discern among them a line toward procrastination and avoiding making this principle specific and effective.

Question: General Rogers and the other leading NATO figures claim that the discrepancy in military forces to NATO's disadvantage remains and is even being increased between the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries. The conclusion is that NATO needs new armaments. To what degree does this complicate the Vienna talks and the work of the Stockholm conference?

V. Mikhaylov: These claims cannot be called honest. They are being made in the West to justify militarist programs. It is well known that the deployment of U.S. nuclear missile weapons is continuing in Western Europe. At the same time, the NATO strategy is placing increasing emphasis on these weapons, if you have in mind conventional weapons that would act against regions deep inside the Warsaw Pact countries and on autopilot. There is no need to prove how such preparations contradict what is being discussed at the talks in Vienna.

O. Grinevskiy: You form the impression that the drafting of accords, which has begun in Stockholm, has not been to the taste of some people in the United States and they have begun to put on the brakes. The reasonable question arises: Are the United States and its allies ready at all for serious talks and is the U.S. Administration not transferring the general toughening of its line in international affairs to Stockholm?

The conference has now entered a decisive stage of its work -- the completion stage. We have only just enough time, as they say -- it will complete its work 19 September. The Soviet initiatives open up practical opportunities for the successful completion of the conference. But good will and the desire for cooperation on the part of all the conference's participants are needed.

Question: Valerian Vladimirovich, you have been taking part in the Vienna talks for a long time. How, on the basis of your experience, would you define the talks' prospects? After all, surely it is scarcely possible to endlessly beat the air as the West is doing?

V. Mikhaylov: The Soviet side has indicated in the most authoritative manner that the talks should not be a game, should not serve as a screen for accelerating the arms race. That would be misleading the public and its peaceful aspirations and hopes. Proceeding from that premise, the delegations of the USSR and the other socialist countries at the Vienna talks are not only seeking to ensure that the NATO countries examine our constructive proposals but are also revealing, form principled positions, everything that is impeding the talks' progress.

On 20 February this year the socialist countries displayed a new initiative. They submitted a detailed draft initial agreement. The agreement develops and gives detail to previous proposals from the socialist countries, including those on verification [kontrol].

Alongside national technical means of verification it also provides for measures like the creation of permanent points for observing the entry of military formations and units into the region of reductions, notifications of troop movements, possible on-site inspection following a justified request, and other measures. It is important that the verification measures should comply sensibly with the nature and content of the actions that are being carried out to reduce military forces.

The achievement of even a limited agreement would be of considerable political and psychological importance. Persistent new efforts must therefore be made to strengthen peace in Europe and to develop good-neighbourliness.

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CSO: 5200/1343

EUROPEAN CONFERENCES

MOSCOW SEES CDE SESSION AS POTENTIAL 'WATERSHED'

LD152203 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 15 Apr 86

[Valentin Gubernatorov report from Sweden]

[Text] In Stockholm, the Conference on Confidence-Building and Security Measures and Disarmament in Europe renewed its work today. Our correspondent Valentin Gubernatorov reports from the Swedish capital:

Many delegates are noting that the present session has started in a complicated situation. The United States is hardening its line in international affairs, undermining confidence, and threatening the security of other countries. In this way, it is violating the basic principles which the Stockholm Conference is called upon to guarantee. In spite of this, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries feel that the 10th session might become a watershed in the work of the forum. The peace initiatives put forward in the statement by Comrade Gorbachev on 15 January, and developed at the 27th CPSU Congress, serve as the basis for such optimism. These proposals have already had a positive influence on the achievement of a number of accords.

Thus, a number of questions have been defined for editing and possible inclusion in a final document, and formulations have been agreed upon in a preliminary form concerning the nonuse of force, the exchange of annual plans for military activity, invitations to observers to exercises, and others. Now our proposal to agree upon prior notification of major exercises of land and air forces, and to put the question of naval activity off to the next stage of the conference, is at the center of the talks. Unfortunately, the United States and its NATO allies have not yet given any intelligible response to this important initiative. This position of the NATO members is naturally holding back the work of the conference, which ends very shortly.

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CSO: 5200/1343

EUROPEAN CONFERENCES

SOVIET ENVOY: LIBYA ACTION 'COULD SERIOUSLY HARM' CDE

PMI61657 [Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 April 1986 Morning Edition carries on page 5 an undated Stockholm dispatch by correspondent A. Sychev entitled "Time Is Pressing" on the resumption of the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. After citing Polish Foreign Minister Orzechowski on the U.S. action against Libya, Sychev continues:

"Soviet delegation head O.A. Grinevskiy, special envoy, who addressed the session, expressed the fear that the U.S. action, which turned the 1st day of the session into a 'black day,' could seriously harm the course of the Stockholm Conference. He stressed the insistent need for the United States to confirm by specific actions the words it has spoken here about peace, confidence and security measures, and the lowering of the level of military confrontation."

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CSO: 5200/1343

RELATED ISSUES

USSR: 'AGGRESSIVE DESIGNS' BETRAY U.S. GLOBAL POLICY

FMI41101 Moscow KRAYNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Apr 86 Second Edition p 3

[Candidate of Economic Sciences Yu. Kataonov article under the rubric "United States -- Locomotive of Militarism": "Strategy of Total Adventurism"]

[Text] There are U.S. doctrines, strategies, and strategic concepts without number, as the saying goes. Despite being verbally disguised as defensive, the essence and substance of these strategic aims are betrayed, as they say, by aggressive designs. Designs on a literally global scale, which threaten peace and international security in all parts of the planet and are being realized ostentatiously, arrogantly, and in disregard of the world community's opinion.

The "administration's determination" -- recently announced in Washington -- to continue the planned nuclear test program has been perceived not only as Washington's unceremonious response to the USSR's urgent appeal to subscribe to its unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions. It is a challenge to the world public and to the overwhelming majority of the world's states which demand an end to nuclear weapon tests as the first step to banning and eliminating nuclear weapons everywhere. It is further graphic evidence that the U.S. Administration is not inclined to halt the material preparation for war.

"The Reagan administration," S. Hoffmann, the American specialist in international affairs, writes, "has brought with it a cruel, all-embracing strategy aimed at securing nuclear superiority, waging ideological, political, and economic war, changing the world correlation of forces -- all at Moscow's expense -- and removing elements of cooperation from Soviet-American rivalry." All this is subordinated to confrontation, and not only with our country, in the main direction for Washington politicians and strategists -- the military direction.

In point of fact, the same thing is even acknowledged in official documents of the Washington administration. Thus, the "Defense Directives for 1984-1988" state: "The United States must declare economic and technical war on the Soviet Union in peacetime, develop weapons which the Russians will find it hard to counter with anything, impose disproportionately large military expenditure on them, open up new spheres of military rivalry...."

The material embodiment of such a pretentious and adventurist aim is the huge program which is currently being implemented for the "rearmament of America" with the illusory aim of achieving U.S. superiority over the USSR and NATO superiority over the Warsaw Pact. The core of the program is the creation and deployment of a number of nuclear first-strike systems both inside and outside the United States itself, primarily in

Western Europe. The United States is putting its "star wars" program into top gear. It is drawing certain NATO allies into this disastrous plan, making them accomplices in a new and still more dangerous round of the arms race.

Washington's aim of deliberately using strong-arm pressure methods and threats in international relations is leading to the further exacerbation of the already dangerous situation in the world. Even nuclear blackmail is not ruled out here, having its origins in the atom bomb raids on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, which, as it known, were carried out not out of any military necessity but for the purpose of intimidating the Soviet Union and making it "compliant." Since then Washington has resorted repeatedly to nuclear threats. In the period 1946 through 1975 alone, according to the Brookings Institution's figures, the question of the possible use of nuclear weapons was considered 19 times -- against the USSR, the PRC, the DPRK, and Vietnam. And in the early eighties American Government circles discussed the question of the possible use of nuclear weapons in the Near East.

The world public perceived as a gross provocation the militarist "games" conducted on the present U.S. Administration's initiative and simulating the American leadership's actions in a nuclear war. In this venture the role of the president was played by W. Rogers, former secretary of state. This "flexing of nuclear muscles" was of a particularly sinister and provocative nature against the background of the fact that many thousands of units of U.S. nuclear weapons are permanently deployed in various parts of the world and, according to U.S. and NATO military strategies, can be used by them first.

The adventurism of U.S. strategy can also be perceived in the plans and practice of the use of conventional weapons in, for example, the piratical actions against Grenada, Lebanon, and Libya, which the Pentagon calls "low-intensity conflicts." The use of American conventional weapons by gangs of counterrevolutionaries against the peoples of Nicaragua, Afghanistan, and other countries with progressive regimes is on a growing scale.

Pentagon plans also envisage the possible escalation of local conflicts into a "conventional world" war -- by way of limitless "horizontal" escalation. There are also plans for so-called "vertical" escalation, which, according to the Pentagon strategists' designs, would open up the way for a conventional war to develop into a nuclear war. The Pentagon believes that the criterion for military superiority is the ability to "dominate in escalation," that is, to ensure American predominance at all levels of the development of any conflict.

The gamble on launching "economic" and "technical" wars against the Soviet Union and on using the arms race for this occupies an important place in the strategy of total confrontation. Here, too, patently unrealizable goals are set. History has repeatedly disgraced bourgeois prophets who have predicted the Soviet Union's economic exhaustion. Our country now possesses everything it needs to make a proper reply to any challenge from imperialism.

"Psychological warfare" is an invariable constituent part of the strategy of total confrontation. It is being waged against the world of socialism and against the liberated countries which have chosen the path of independent development. "The 'psychological war' unleashed by imperialism," the 27th CPSU Congress pointed out, "can only be described as a special form of aggression, of information imperialism, trampling on the peoples' sovereignty, history and culture. It is also direct political and psychological preparation for war...This is the only possible interpretation

of actions whereby people are taught to look through a gunsight at any society not to imperialism's liking."

The main direction of "psychological warfare" is unbridled anti-Sovietism and anti-communism. Its methods and substance -- chauvinism and the preaching of "American exclusivity," propaganda of violence and attempts to justify U.S. claims to imperial hegemony -- also square perfectly with the doctrine of piracy and plunder which is officially called "neoglobalism." "Psychological warfare" operations are conducted with the help of a giant propaganda machine (newspapers, magazines, radio, television, movies, and so forth). The tone is set by statesmen and politicians of all ranks and by top military officers.

Examples of such operations are provided by the present vociferous propaganda campaigns against the USSR's proposal to end nuclear tests and for the continuation of the race for nuclear and other arms, and in justification of the undeclared wars against Nicaragua, Afghanistan, Cambodia, and Angola and the aggression against Libya. The U.S. Administration has taken on the leading role in this propaganda orgy. An apt description of its activity was provided by Canadian Professor (F. Knelman) in his book "Reagan, God, and the Bomb. From Myth to Politics Under Conditions of the Nuclear Arms Race." "Ultraconservative forces which preach double-dyed anti-communism, believe in the inevitable end of the world, and argue that the 'commanding place in the world' belongs to the United States," the author states, "have acceded to power in the United States...The activity of the administration, which has at its disposal the tools of destruction of the 20th and even the 21st century, is directed by people who think in terms of the 19th century." This is the somber reality of present-day America.

As Comrade M.S. Gorbachev has pointed out, the policy of total opposition and military confrontation has no future. Fleeing into the past is not an answer to the challenges of the future but, rather, an act of despair, but this does not make such a stance any less dangerous.

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CSO: 5200/1344

RELATED ISSUES

USSR: REPORTS ON APRIL NONALIGNED MEETING HIGHLIGHT ARMS ISSUES

PRAVDA Preview

PM171328 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Apr 86 First Edition p 5

[Own special correspondent V. Korovikov dispatch: "Topical Tasks of Nonalignment"]

[Text] Delhi, April -- The Nonaligned Movement Coordinating Bureau, convened at foreign minister level, opens a meeting in Delhi on 16 April. The meeting, in which more than 100 delegations will be taking part, is being held on the eve of the eighth conference of the heads of state and government of nonaligned countries, which is scheduled to take place in the Zimbabwean capital of Harare.

At the sessions in Delhi the ministers are to analyze the development of the world situation since the seventh supreme forum of the Nonaligned Movement was held here in March 1983. As people will be aware, at that time the participants in the movement, whose chairman was the late Indira Gandhi, declared their main tasks to be the struggle for peace, disarmament, development, and a new international economic system.

Today those same tasks are even more acute. Assessing the events of recent years on the eve of the session, the Indian press concludes that this is caused by the growing aggressiveness of imperialist forces headed by the United States, which is increasingly resorting to a "big stick" policy on a global scale and is also pursuing a blatantly neocolonialist course regarding the developing countries.

The Coordinating Bureau session's draft declaration issued here says that averting the threat of nuclear war is now the most important problem and that disarmament is a question of mankind's survival. The document expresses support for the program to rid the planet of nuclear weapons by the end of the century proposed by M.S. Gorbachev and criticizes Washington's obstructionist, "pronuclear" stance.

As people know, the U.S. stance has also manifested itself in the insolent way that they have ignored across the Atlantic the Delhi Declaration by the leaders of six countries, which calls for nuclear arsenals to be scrapped and the militarization of outer space to be prevented. This approach by Washington is seen in the dozens of states belonging to the Nonaligned Movement as political irresponsibility. The U.S. refusal to join the Soviet moratorium on nuclear tests and the development of the "star wars" program across the Atlantic have caused indignation in the developing countries. "It is quite clear," the Indian newspaper THE PATRIOT writes, "that the United States is resorting to nuclear blackmail to establish its world domination."

Growing unease is also being caused in Asia, Africa, and Latin America by the fact that in its attempts to restore its lost positions in the developing world American imperialism is using methods of strong-arm diktat with increasing vigor. The occupation of Grenada, the hostile acts against Nicaragua, the direct attacks on Libya, the arming and financing of reactionary bandit groups in Angola and Afghanistan, and the militarist hustle and bustle in the Indian Ocean are all actions, local commentators point out, that are not only contrary to the Nonaligned Movement's interests but are also aimed against many of its participants.

The imperialist powers combine their military and political pressure on the Nonaligned Movement's countries with increasing economic plunder and financial fettering of those countries. It is enough to point out that their total foreign debt already tops \$3 trillion. This is how the session's draft declaration assesses the prevailing situation: "Trading conditions for the developing countries have sharply deteriorated; capital inflow is at a standstill; export earnings are falling... Many states are poorer today than they were 10 years ago." This is the result of the neocolonialist policy pursued by imperialism, which is carrying out the most brutal exploitation of the developing countries and is seeking to increase inequality in international economic relations.

The events of recent years have revealed with new force the antipeople nature of imperialism. The inextricable link between the growing financing of imperialist powers' militarist preparations and the increasingly disastrous state of hundreds of millions of people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America has become particularly obvious to the developing countries. That is why there is ever increasing support on those continents for the initiatives and actions of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states aimed at ending the arms race and making constructive use of the world's productive forces and resources. It is becoming increasingly plain that there is an objective need to strengthen solidarity between the Nonaligned Movement and the socialist countries in the struggle for peace, security, and social progress.

The Delhi meeting of the Nonaligned Movement's Coordinating Bureau, as can already be judged from the draft declaration and press articles, will be an important forum, one which is designed to make an important new contribution to the struggle on behalf of the movement's goals and tasks and to promote the success of the upcoming summit conference.

End to Arms Race Sought

LD190410 Moscow TASS in English 2238 GMT 17 Apr 86

[Text] New Delhi April 17 TASS -- By TASS correspondents Vladimir Baydashin and Stanislav Sychev:

Participants in the Non-Aligned Coordinating Bureau's session, currently under way here, have called for an end to the nuclear arms race, return to the policy of detente and rebuff to the Washington administration's policy of "neoglobalism".

The demand was made by the representatives of Cyprus, Algeria, Afghanistan, Zimbabwe, Kuwait and other nations.

Following the Soviet-American meeting in Geneva, which generated great hopes worldwide, said Afghanistan's Foreign Minister Shah Mohammad Dost, the United States had

been departing further and further away from the letter and spirit of the Geneva meeting and betraying the expectations of all of mankind.

The United States not only failed to respond to the USSR's constructive initiatives related to a number of topical international problems, but was acting contrary to these proposals.

The "star wars" plans and aggressive acts of "neoglobalism" of the Reagan administration were designed to heighten international tension and push the world toward armed confrontation.

Zimbabwe's Foreign Minister Witness Mangwende criticised Washington's doctrine of "neoglobalism." This reckless doctrine was especially dangerous in the nuclear age and should be repulsed, he pointed out. The Non-Aligned Movement should do everything to strengthen world peace and security.

U.S. Policy Criticized

LD201754 Moscow TASS in English 2259 GMT 19 Apr 86

[Text] New Delhi April 19 TASS -- The main objective of the non-aligned countries is to fight for preventing the threat of nuclear war forced by U.S. imperialism, for complete and general disarmament, in the first place nuclear disarmament, for international detente, strengthening peace and security, for a new international economic order. This idea was expressed in the addresses by the delegates of Vietnam, Ethiopia, Zambia, Nepal and Mauritius at the session of the Coordination Bureau of the non-aligned countries at the foreign ministers' level here.

Nguyen Co Thach, SRV foreign minister, condemned in his speech the U.S. policy of state terrorism. The USA has tens of times unleashed aggressions and interventions against many countries in different continents, he said. The latest example of this has been the U.S. aggression against Libya. The Vietnamese minister strongly criticised the U.S. policy of escalation of the arms race on earth and the attempts at spreading it into outer space. Therefore, we support all initiatives directed at ridding mankind of the threat of a nuclear catastrophe, Nguyen Co Thach stressed. In that connection we are expressing satisfaction at the support contained in the draft declaration of the Coordination Bureau for the Soviet Union's large-scale programme aimed at a total elimination of nuclear and other types of mass destruction weapons.

Vietnam also supports Mongolia's proposal that a convention should be concluded on mutual non-aggression and non-use of force between the states of Asia and the Pacific. Nguyen Co Thach declared for a settlement in Indochina on the basis of the decisions adopted at the 12th foreign ministers' conference of the SRV, Laos and Kampuchea, directed at ensuring lasting peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

Ethiopia welcomes the Soviet Union's recent proposals on ridding the world of nuclear weapons by the year 2000, said Ethiopia's Foreign Minister Goshu Wolde. Yet, the Reagan administration's stand on that issue leaves little room for optimism. The whole U.S. strategy is aimed at ensuring nuclear supremacy for it. The Reagan administration's militaristic policy jeopardizes peace and international security, the minister said. We should rally our ranks even closer to give a rebuff to imperialism.

Declaration Adopted

LD210404 Moscow TASS in English 0957 GMT 20 Apr 86

[Text] New Delhi April 20 -- TASS correspondents Vladimir Baydashin and Stanislav Sychev report:

The non-aligned countries' Coordinating Bureau has ended its session at a foreign minister level here. The session brought together about 100 delegations from the non-aligned countries and also from the national liberation movements and international organisations.

The session chaired by India has become the last stage in preparations for the forthcoming eighth conference of the heads of state and government of the non-aligned countries due to open in Harare, capital of Zimbabwe, late in August this year.

The bureau was in session in New Delhi in the days when the United States perpetrated the aggression against Libya, a member of the Non-Aligned Movement. The bureau held an emergency meeting which strongly denounced the U.S. bandit actions against the sovereign state and demanded an immediate end to the aggression against Libya. The non-aligned states declared their full support for the Libyan people's struggle against U.S. imperialism's intrigues.

Issues of war and peace, nuclear disarmament and development were centerpiece to the four-day debates at the bureau's session. The session adopted a political declaration which points out during the period that has elapsed since the previous summit conference of the non-aligned countries the Non-Aligned Movement continued to play a major role in promoting peace and peaceful co-existence, disarmament and development, and in strengthening independence. The document confirms the movement's fundamental principles: the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid, racism, Zionism and all forms of foreign aggression and interference in domestic affairs. The unity and cohesion of the non-aligned countries and their strict compliance with the principles and objectives of the Non-Aligned Movement are more and more vital at the current complex period in international affairs, the declaration says.

The foreign ministers expressed satisfaction with the resumption of the dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States, indicating that it should lead to the relaxation of tension in relations between the great powers and, ultimately, in the world, and make a positive contribution towards strengthening international security. The ministers confirmed that there could be no alternative to cooperation and peaceful co-existence of states irrespective of the differences in their political, economic and social systems.

The ministers, says the declaration, welcomed the comprehensive and timely programme for nuclear disarmament advanced by the Soviet Union and emphasized the nuclear weapons posed the most awesome threat to peace. They drew attention to the urgent need for all nuclear powers to conclude a treaty on the total ban on the tests of all types of nuclear weapons. The document expresses regret over the unconstructive stand taken by the United States on the issue of nuclear disarmament.

The participants in the session called for stamping out apartheid in the south of Africa as soon as possible and for granting independence to Namibia. They declared

for exercising the inalienable right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination and creating an independent state, and demanded an end to the Israeli occupation of the captured Arab lands. The ministers drew attention to the need to resolve all disputed issues by peaceful means. They also declared for strengthening the role of the United Nations and its organisations, among others, UNESCO.

The participants in the session expressed confidence that the holding of the eighth conference of the heads of state and government of the non-aligned countries in Harare would become an event of immense importance in the history of the Non-Aligned Movement.

TASS Analysis

LD212333 Moscow TASS in English 1706 GMT 20 Apr 86

[Text] Moscow April 20 TASS -- TASS Political News Analyst Sergey Kulik writes:

The results of the session of the Coordinating Bureau of the non-aligned countries forcefully show anew that the quintessence of the policy of non-alignment remains the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid, racism, including Zionism, foreign aggressions, occupation, dominance, interference and hegemony. The sole fact that the foreign ministers of almost 100 countries who attended the New Delhi forum sent their mission to Libya so as to express solidarity with that country, which came under the U.S. bandit attack, is enough to understand what political winds prevail in the Non-Aligned Movement.

The decisions of the bureau on questions of war and peace are of clearly anti-imperialist nature. The forum adopted a political declaration which welcomes the comprehensive and timely programme for nuclear disarmament advanced by the Soviet Union. The foreign ministers confirmed that in our day and age there can be no alternative to cooperation and peaceful co-existence of states irrespective of the differences in their political, economic and social systems. The analysis of the mainstream in the activity and priority tasks of the Non-Aligned Movement, formulated in New Delhi, their comparison with the fundamental principles of the foreign policy of the USSR and other socialist countries show the proximity or concurrence of the positions and objectives of the Non-Aligned Movement and the socialist community. At hand is the availability of ample opportunities for their further constructive interaction on cardinal problems of our time with a view to strengthening world peace.

In their attempts to bring down the anti-imperialist pitch of the Non-Aligned Movement, bourgeois politicians were at pains to force on the participants in the New Delhi session a certain doctrine of "intermediate orientation", of "equal remoteness" which has as its main objective not to allow the developing countries' fruitful cooperation with socialist states. In so doing, the enemies of genuine non-alignment try to pretend that "equal remoteness" expresses the striving of the majority of the developing countries for independence.

But can upright people remain at an "equal distance" from warmongers and the fighters for mankind's peaceful future? Is it in the interests of the non-aligned states and their peoples not to see the difference between the two powers, one of which has the friendly attitude to it and the other calls it "immoral"? The force and effectiveness of the USSR's line in its relations with the non-aligned countries lies in the fact that the interests and principles of its foreign policy meet the aspirations of the people of the newly-free states. The Soviet Union welcomes the non-aligned countries' growing role in discussing and solving the pivotal world problems, first and foremost the problems of war and peace.

TASS Cites PRAVDA Comment

LD220642 Moscow TASS in English 0620 GMT 22 Apr 86

[Text] Moscow April 22 TASS -- The lessons of the events in the Mediterranean have left their impact on the whole work of the Coordination Bureau of the Non-Aligned Movement, PRAVDA's correspondent in New Delhi pointed out in his dispatch today.

He is commenting on the meeting of the Coordination Bureau of the Non-Aligned Movement, which closed there. The final documents of the meeting call for concrete actions towards international detente, the correspondent pointed out. The Coordination Bureau has condemned the senseless squandering of funds on the arms race, and declared for a total ban on nuclear weapons. The representatives of the Non-Aligned Movement have again demanded that the seats of colonialism and racism in South Africa be eliminated, the Middle East conflict and other crises be peacefully settled. It has also condemned acts of international terrorism, recruiting and employment of mercenaries.

Much attention was devoted at the New Delhi meeting to economic issues, the newspaper PRAVDA said. It has been pointed out in particular that the economic situation in many developing states has been deteriorating from year to year. Their foreign debts are steadily growing and have already topped a trillion dollars. The imperialist powers and their transnational monopolies exercise, as before, undivided sway in the world market. The prices of raw materials have sharply declined recently. Hunger and poverty hits hard hundreds of millions of people.

To put an end to this situation, the Non-Aligned Movement has declared for resolute measures to establish a new international economic order and to ease the burden of debts. A twenty-point programme for action in the field of international economy and trade has been put forward.

The Delhi meeting, as India's Minister of External Affairs Bal Ram Bhagat, pointed out in its closing meeting, has again demonstrated the determination of peoples on various continents to work actively for peace, disarmament, anti-colonialism and development. This active and principled stand of the non-aligned states determines the important and constructive role, which the movement plays in the troubled world today, PRAVDA says in conclusion.

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RELATED ISSUES

SWEDISH PRIME MINISTER DISCUSSES ARMS ISSUES IN MOSCOW

Talks Summarized

LD151903 Moscow TASS in English 1836 GMT 15 Apr 86

[Excerpt] Moscow April 15 TASS--Talks were held today between the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Nikolay Ryzhkov and the Prime Minister of Sweden Ingvar Carlsson, who is staying in the Soviet Union on an official visit.

It was noted with satisfaction during the talks that the positions of the USSR and Sweden on a number of important international problems coincide and that this creates an objective basis for interaction by the two countries in the interests of peace and security. Much attention was devoted from both sides to the American air attack against Libya which is a most flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and creates a serious threat to universal peace and security.

Nikolay Ryzhkov noted Sweden's active role as a participant in international agreements in the field of disarmament, its place in the group of countries of the "Delhi six" coming out with initiatives to scale down the nuclear arms race and also the positive Swedish position on questions of scaling down military confrontation on a regional basis, a position that enhances the strengthening of peace and security in Europe.

When views on international problems were exchanged Ingvar Carlsson confirmed Sweden's striving further to contribute to the attainment of the aims of peace and disarmament, to exert every effort to scale down and remove the threat of a nuclear war. On behalf of the Swedish Government Ingvar Carlsson positively assessed the Soviet programme of the stage-by-stage liquidation of nuclear arms by the year 2000. He also reiterated that Sweden comes out for a peaceful outer space, for preventing it from becoming a sphere of military confrontation. The Swedish prime minister noted that the ending of all nuclear tests can and must become an important step along the road to ridding mankind of nuclear arms.

Lomeyko on Swedish Policy

LD151628 Moscow TASS in English 1611 GMT 15 Apr 86

[Excerpt] Moscow April 15 TASS--The visit of Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson is an important event in the Soviet-Swedish relations. It will contribute to a further development of goodneighborly relations between our

two states, Vladimir Lomeyko, head of the Press Department of the USSR Foreign Ministry, said today. He was addressing a briefing for Soviet and foreign newsmen here.

The determination of both countries to preserve and strengthen peace, to curb the arms race and prevent nuclear war, to develop comprehensive mutually beneficial ties in various fields make the firm basis of the Soviet-Swedish relations of goodneighbourliness.

The Soviet Union respects Sweden's independence and territorial integrity, and gives due credit to Sweden's neutrality policy, which is viewed, with good reason, as an important factor of stability and peace in Nordic Europe.

Sweden is making an essential contribution to the holding in Stockholm of the Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, and consistently adheres to the idea of creating a nuclear-free zone in Nordic Europe.

Sweden's proposal that a zone free from nuclear tactical battlefield weapons be created in Europe has attracted much attention and is broadly known.

This initiative of Sweden was supported by the Soviet Union and other countries, which believe that the creation of nuclear-free zones in various parts of Europe is one of the ways to rid the whole continent of nuclear weapons, both of tactical and medium-range ones.

The closeness and at times concurrence of the stands of our states on a number of international issues, the common interest in trade, economic and cultural exchanges make a reliable basis for strengthening relations, Vladimir Lomeyko stressed.

Ryzhkov Dinner Speech

LD151643 Moscow TASS in English 1627 GMT 15 Apr 86

[Excerpts] Moscow April 15 TASS--A dinner in honour of the Prime Minister of Sweden Ingvar Carlsson and Mrs. Carlsson was held today on behalf of the USSR Government in the Grand Kremlin Palace. Together with Ingvar Carlsson the dinner was attended by the officials accompanying him in his visit. Present from the Soviet side were Nikolay Ryzhkov and his wife, Geydar Aliyev, Eduard Shevardnadze, Nikolay Talyzin and other officials.

A speech was made at the dinner by Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR:

Esteemed Minister Prime Minister and Mrs. Carlsson.

Esteemed Swedish guests.

Comrades.

It is with much satisfaction that we note the important event in Soviet-Swedish relations--the visit by the prime minister of Sweden to the Soviet Union. I extend heartfelt greetings again to the head of the Swedish Government, to

Mrs. Carlsson and also to the Swedish statesmen and politicians who have come with them and to the personages accompanying them.

We are neighbours and no disputes or outstanding problems exist between us that would prevent us from basing our relations on the firm foundation of equality, mutual respect of sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Every reason exists for Soviet-Swedish relations always to be an example of goodneighbourhood.

Of course, we represent two different social systems, two ways of life, but we are living on a single planet and must coexist in a single world - such is reality and there is no escaping it.

The great common aim - the prevention of nuclear catastrophe and preservation of human civilisation - is now bringing nations and states closer together than ever before. Any actions contradicting this aim are fraught with tremendous danger for the peoples.

It was thus that the whole world reacted to today's criminal attack by American aviation against Libya. This act of aggression, which cannot have any justification, is a manifestation of disregard for the interests of small states and peoples and flouts the United Nations Charter that prohibits the use of force in international relations. The Soviet Government resolutely condemns this bandit action against Libya and demands an immediate end to it.

The peoples of our countries are united by striving for peace, for the ending of the arms race, for the creation of normal conditions for international cooperation. And it was with satisfaction that we noted the statements by representatives of the Swedish state leadership that your country wants to have good and stable relations with the Soviet Union and that the visit by the prime minister of Sweden to the USSR is taking place in accordance with the desire of the broad majority of the Swedish people to have friendly relations with all of its neighbours.

During the meeting that you have just had with the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and also during the Soviet-Swedish talks in the Kremlin, Mr. Prime Minister, you could have seen for yourself that the Soviet Union sincerely wants goodneighbourly relations with Sweden on the basis of the immutable and fair principles of peaceful coexistence.

Esteemed Mister Prime Minister,

It appears to us that the Soviet Union and Sweden have good possibilities for developing cooperation both in the economic sphere and in international affairs, first of all in questions of strengthening peace and achieving a radical improvement of the international situation.

We hold that the thoughts expressed in the messages of the leaders of six countries to the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States echo in many ways the theses of the Soviet concept of security through disarmament, the major foreign policy initiatives outlined in the January 15 statement by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and at the 27th Congress of the CPSU. Olof Palme, a champion of peace, disarmament and extensive international cooperation of world renown who has done much for the development of goodneighbourly relations between Sweden and the Soviet Union, was one of the authors of these messages.

The prohibition of nuclear weapon tests is one of the most urgent tasks to which the world public's attention is attracted these days. As you know, it was already last summer that the Soviet Union announced a unilateral ending of all nuclear explosions till the end of the year and persistently called on the United States Administration to join this initiative. Twice, including once in response to an appeal of the leaders of the six countries, we extended our moratorium although for understandable reasons this was not a simple matter for us. And all this time we were giving the American side a chance to confirm in deeds and not in words its statements about its striving for a nuclear-free world.

But this did not happen. Despite worldwide protests and contrary to the will of peoples a new nuclear explosion was carried out and became an open challenge not only to the Soviet Union but also to the world as a whole.

This compelled the Soviet union to consider itself free of the unilateral moratorium. But, as before, we express readiness to return at any moment to the question of a mutual moratorium on nuclear explosions if the United States Government declares that it will refrain from the conduct of such explosions.

The Soviet Union is ready for an immediate commencement of talks -- bilateral, tripartite or multilateral -- on the prohibition of nuclear tests. My country will not slacken its efforts in this question in the interests of the cause of peace.

Tribute is paid in the Soviet Union to Sweden's active stand, to its initiatives with which it comes out both on its own and together with other countries of the "Delhi six", as well as in the group of neutral and nonaligned countries with the aims of preserving peace, curbing the arms race and stopping nuclear tests. This applies also to the proposals to create nuclear-free zones in the north of Europe and in central Europe. It is clear that it is impossible to achieve greater stability on the European Continent by stepping up the militaristic bloc policy pursued by NATO. The Soviet Union has always come out and continues to come out for an expansion of peaceful cooperation with the countries of northern Europe and for a joint search of such solutions that would accord with the interests of mutual security.

In conclusion I would like to express confidence that the visit by the prime minister of Sweden to the Soviet Union, his conversations and talks covering a broad range of international problems and bilateral ties will help make a better use of the existing possibilities to invigorate relations of trust and goodneighbourhood between the USSR and Sweden. This will accord with the fundamental interests of both countries, the cause of peace and international cooperation.

I wish the very best to you, Mister Prime Minister, to Mrs Carlsson, to all our Swedish guests, and prosperity and progress to the friendly people of Sweden.

Carlsson Address Noted

LD152143 Moscow TASS in English 2116 GMT 15 Apr 86

[Excerpt] Moscow April 15 TASS--Sweden has a big interest in maintaining good relations with all countries, especially with its neighbours, including with the Soviet Union. This was stated by the Prime Minister of Sweden Ingvar Carlsson. He spoke tonight at a dinner held in his honour by the Soviet Government in the Kremlin. We want to develop these relations on the sound basis of mutual respect of each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, he said.

Noting the growth in recent years of the strategic importance of northern Europe and saying that for this reason that region has become more directly affected by the contradictions between the blocs of the great powers, the head of the Swedish Government stressed that all countries should be interested in this region remaining an area of low tension.

Sweden wishes to facilitate the lessening of international tension and disarmament by coming out with initiatives at the United Nations Organisation and the disarmament conference in Geneva, Ingvar Carlsson said. He also stated Sweden's striving to take part actively and constructively in the process of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and in the work of the Conference on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament, that has been held in Stockholm since 1984 within the CSCE framework.

"The initiative with which Olof Palme came out together with the leaders of five other countries from various continents is yet another example of our will to facilitate disarmament in the world", Ingvar Carlsson stated. He stressed that no task was more important today than that of averting a nuclear catastrophe.

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RELATED ISSUES

TASS REPORTS GORBACHEV GREETINGS TO WPC SESSION

LD240926 Moscow TASS in English 0900 GMT 24 Apr 86

["Verified version" of greetings message by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev to the World Peace Council]

[Text] Moscow April 24 TASS -- Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee has sent a message of greetings to the participants in the session of the World Peace Council: [This and following variations are reported by Moscow TASS in English at 0655 GMT on 24 April in a similar report. Here TASS adds: "Follows the full text of the message of greetings from Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee to the participants in the session of the World Peace Council:"]

I convey heartfelt greetings to the participants in the session of the World Peace Council, to the representatives of the millions of men and women who have devoted themselves to serving the loftiest and greatest aims of today -- the preservation of peace and life on earth.

We are living in a very difficult time, in a vulnerable world. For the first time ever the problem of survival now looms before all people in its entire grim simplicity. So today it is already not enough to wish peace, not enough to condemn the buildup of military potentials, not enough even just to see from where the threat to mankind comes. Today one must act -- persistently and purposefully. Everybody must act -- both governments and public forces.

The mass movement for peace possesses big and not yet fully used possibilities for establishing a new, anti-war, anti-nuclear mentality in world politics proceeding not from the "enemy image", that stimulates confrontation, but from the necessity of concerted actions for the sake of creating an all-embracing system of international security. The work conducted by the World Peace Council along with a multitude of other movements and organizations helps this, facilitates the strengthening of the powerful potential of peace, reason and self-preservation that has formed in recent years. While overcoming obstacles, disunity and prejudices within its own ranks the mass movement for peace will enhance this potential and have an increasing impact on international politics. [TASS 0655 GMT version reads: "While overcoming obstacles, disunity and prejudices within its own ranks this potential is steadily changing the alignment of forces in the international arena. The Soviet Union intends further to enhance in every way its constant growth and influence."]

The situation remains extremely serious. The current year, declared by the United Nations Organisation the International Year of Peace, cautions against complacency.

The more belligerent circles, representing the egoistic interests of imperialism's military-industrial complex, have undermined the unique possibility to set about reducing nuclear arms upon stopping nuclear explosions. By committing the arms aggression against the Libyan people, they sharply heightened International tension. Preparation is under way to turn outer space into a source of unprecedented danger to the existence of civilization. People's rights and freedoms, and first of all their right to life, are being cynically trampled upon. [TASS 0655 GMT version reads: "The more belligerent circles, representing the egoistic interests of imperialist's military-industrial complex, have undermined the unique possibility to stop all nuclear explosions, committed armed aggression against the Libyan people and are creating hotbeds of tension. They are whipping up the arms race by spreading it to outer space. They cynically disregard the social rights and freedoms of people, first of all their right to life."]

The Soviet Union is well aware of its responsibility for the destiny of mankind. [TASS 0655 GMT version reads: "As a nuclear power the Soviet Union is well aware of its responsibility for the destiny of mankind."] We have set forth a programme of liquidating nuclear arms before the end of the century; we are ready at any moment to enter into negotiations on cessation of all tests of nuclear weapons; [TASS 0655 GMT version reads: "stated our readiness to sign at any moment a treaty banning all nuclear arms tests;"] came out with concrete initiatives directed at the speediest prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons; proposed to liquidate nuclear arms and substantially reduce conventional arms in Europe -- from the Atlantic to the Urals. We have undertaken a number of substantive unilateral steps of good will.

The Soviet foreign policy programme has absorbed quite a number of ideas and initiatives of the peaceloving public. Their implementation in practice depends in many ways on the public movements, trends and organisations themselves, on the ability of people of different ideological views to conduct a dialogue and reach mutual understanding on key issues of war and peace, and on their cooperation and concrete joint actions. [TASS 0655 GMT version reads: "Their implementation in practice now depends in many ways on the public movements, trends and organisations themselves, on ordinary people, on their readiness and ability to conduct a dialogue, to cooperate with one another, to resort to action."] I am convinced that the World Peace Council will further make its weighty contribution to this process.

Dear friends, I wish you successful and fruitful work". [single quotation mark as received] [TASS 0655 GMT version ends:

[Signed] Mikhail Gorbachev]

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RELATED ISSUES

IZVESTIYA CRITICIZES KOHL STATEMENT ON ARMS ISSUES

PM141255 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Apr 86 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by own correspondent Ye. Bovkun: "FRG: Contradictory Position"]

[Text] Bonn -- Addressing journalists in Bonn on 11 April, H. Kohl set forth his cabinet's position on questions of disarmament and arms control and contacts with the socialist countries.

The federal chancellor noted the existence of positive advances in the development of East-West relations and assured those present that Soviet-West German dialogue will remain the key avenue of the FRG's entire ostpolitik.

The leader of the right-wing coalition made several general remarks about the need to implement the Geneva accords and to resolve the nuclear and chemical weapons problem. But when he tried to develop his own theses it became clear that his pretentious statements about readiness to effectively promote detente are in flagrant contradiction with Bonn's aims and intentions.

While leading politicians of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and even the Free Democratic Party have denounced Washington's refusal to associate itself to the Soviet moratorium on nuclear weapons tests, H. Kohl has launched into obscure discourses about the "inevitability" of such tests and has in fact approved the actions of the U.S. Administration which has allowed a real chance of concluding an agreement with the Soviet Union on halting nuclear explosions to slip by.

The contradictoriness of Bonn's position has also been displayed in the question of chemical weapons. Denouncing the policy based on the "all or nothing" principle at the beginning of his speech, Kohl nonetheless stated that the Federal Government considers it possible to resolve the problem only if there is an "all-around ban" on chemical weapons and therefore opposes any "regional solutions," that is the creation in central Europe of a zone free from such means of mass destruction.

On the other hand, regarding the U.S. "star wars" program, the Bonn chancellor expressed himself with the utmost clarity, stressing that this space project is "justified" and "politically necessary." "Kohl has once again defended SDI to journalists," FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE comments.'

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RELATED ISSUES

SOVIET COLONEL DISCUSSES VERIFICATION POLICY

PM151121 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Apr 86 Second Edition p 3

[Colonel V. Larionov "Expert's Opinion": "Not an End in Itself but a Reasonable Measure"]

[Text] The CPSU Program approved by the 27th party congress outlined a broad package of constructive measures aimed at ending the arms race, at disarmament, and at ensuring peace and security. The CPSU tries to ensure that questions of limiting arms and averting the threat of war are solved by means of honest and strictly observed accords based on the sides' equality and identical security and that any attempts to hold talks "from a position of strength" and to use them as cover for an arms build-up are ruled out.

There is no weapon that the Soviet Union would not be prepared to limit or ban on a mutual basis involving effective verification [kontrol].

The program for eliminating nuclear and other kinds of mass destruction weapons advanced in the CPSU Central Committee general secretary's statement of 15 January this year attaches great, indeed fundamental significance to the question of verification [kontrol]. The Soviet Union has advocated and now advocates that comprehensive inspection [proverka] of the fulfillment of all possible agreements in this sphere be the most important element of the disarmament process and that any agreements on limiting arms be reliably verified [kontrolirovat].

The Soviet Union's approach to questions of verification [kontrol] is based on readiness to take any reasonable measures to help limit the arms race. At the same time, of course, verification [kontrol] is not an end in itself. As was emphasized at the 27th CPSU Congress, "disarmament without verification [kontrol] is impossible, but neither does verification [kontrol] without disarmament make sense." Hence an important practical conclusion: The extent and the methods of verification [kontrol] must correspond to the nature and extent of specific accords. Specific verification [kontrol] methods must be chosen in each case with regard to what practical measures will be taken to limit arms.

What are the possible methods of ensuring reliable verification [kontrol] of the implementation of the disarmament measures proposed by the Soviet Union?

Above all, there is the use of the sides' existing national technical means of verification [kontrol]. Experience of the use of these means to verify [proverka] the treaties and agreements concluded earlier confirms their incontestable priority.

Such means of verification [kontrol] are continuously being improved, and their potential is growing.

If necessary, additional measures can be provided to help enhance the effectiveness of verification [kontrol] by national technical means. These could be, for example, agreed notification on questions connected with the fulfillment of accords and the exchange of quantitative data on areas provided for when drawing up agreements envisages that special procedures will be drawn up for the destruction of nuclear weapons and also for the dismantling, reequipping, or destruction of carriers. Here there must be agreement on the numbers of weapons to be destroyed at each specific stage, on the places where they will be destroyed, and so forth.

Other additional measures could also be taken, right down to on-site inspections [inspeksi]. Only it is important that such measures do not serve as an instrument of interference in states' internal affairs or harm any of the sides.

The USSR's approach to questions of verification [kontrol] -- in all directions of limiting and reducing arms -- leads to the creation of guarantees of the security of all the states participating in this process and, in the final analysis, to the creation of a comprehensive system of international security. It shows the groundlessness of the attempts by the United States and other NATO countries to use the verification [kontrol] problem to erect artificial obstacles at the talks on limiting arms and to delay reaching mutually acceptable accords there.

It is known that Washington uses references to verification [kontrol] difficulties to block the solution of the problem of banning and totally eliminating chemical weapon stockpiles, refuses to solve the problem of banning space-strike arms, on which the solution of the problem of nuclear arms reduction in turn depends, and is slowing down the process of reducing armed forces and arms in Central Europe.

Recently this tactic of Washington's has been manifested particularly noticeably in the question of ending nuclear weapon tests and in the U.S. refusal to join in the Soviet moratorium on all nuclear explosions. The Soviet Union has declared that verification [kontrol] of the ending of tests is no problem. It can be ensured by national technical means and also with the help of international procedures -- where necessary, even with on-site inspection [inspeksiya]. The Soviet Union has expressed readiness to take advantage of the six states' offer to give assistance in verifying [proverka] the ending of nuclear tests. It has also been suggested to the U.S. Administration that experts from the two countries -- the USSR and the United States -- meet at any time, in any place to discuss questions connected with verifying [kontrol] the ending of nuclear explosions. This clear USSR stance has torn the mask of hypocrisy from the Washington opponents of ending nuclear tests.

The USSR's proposals in the verification [kontrol] sphere clearly demonstrate our country's readiness to solve constructively and without delay the urgent problems of limiting the arms race in all directions, reducing the danger of nuclear war breaking out, and strengthening throughout the world.

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RELATED ISSUES

USSR'S BOVIN ADVOCATES 'NEW THINKING' IN NUCLEAR AGE

PM231524 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Apr 86 Morning Edition p 5

[Political Observer A. Bovin article: "An Imperative of the Nuclear Age"]

[Text] The first nuclear device was exploded by the Americans at the Alamogordo (New Mexico) testing ground at 0530 hours on 16 July 1945. "The immediate impression of the explosion," General Farrell, who was present, recalled, "can be described in words like unprecedented, majestic, wonderful, amazing, and terrifying.... The beauty of that scene can be described only by great poets who, alas, have not seen anything like it." I doubt whether poets could have shared the general's enthusiasm; as for politicians, yes, they could and did. W. Churchill called the atom bomb "the second coming of Christ." Less than a month later -- on 6 and 9 August -- Hiroshima and Nagasaki were destroyed on orders from U.S. President H. Truman. Mankind entered the nuclear age.

Initially it was only single individuals and primarily scientists -- the scientists who were involved with the bomb -- who appreciated the true significance of what had occurred.

Politicians and generals, as always, were preparing for a war like those in the past. From their point of view, atomic weapons changed tactics and changed strategy but did not affect the philosophy of war, the classical perception of war as a completely rational means to attain political ends.

Nevertheless, as the scale of the catastrophe that engulfed the two Japanese cities became known, as the data provided by more and more tests of atomic and subsequently, thermonuclear weapons was accumulated, it became increasingly clear that the creation [sozdaniye] and stockpiling of nuclear weapons marked mankind's transition to a fundamentally new historical epoch -- an epoch when people were given the technical capacity to exterminate and destroy all of mankind.

This devalued and deprived of all sense many of the conventional political and military-strategic stereotypes. This demanded substantially and qualitatively new approaches to all the problems of war and peace. "What is needed is a new way of human thinking so that mankind may survive and develop further," A. Einstein, the greatest physicist of the 20th century, said. "The atom bomb has radically changed the world today; we know this, people are in a new situation and their thinking must correspond with it." This is the political imperative of the nuclear age.

A new way of thinking and a new approach to the solution of what would appear to be traditional and conventional tasks -- this is the necessary and the only sensible reaction to the situation in which mankind has found itself. All people are mortal -- this

is obvious. But there has been an equally obvious and indisputable acceptance of the thesis about the immortality of mankind. Wars have gone on for thousands of years. People have perished in millions and even billions. States have disintegrated. Civilizations have collapsed. There has always been, however, a hope of different times and new generations to come.... To put it briefly, despite all the mistakes and crimes, despite the mountains of bodies and rivers of blood traversed by history, the future was guaranteed. Herein lies the radical change in the world: Now we have no guaranteed future. Now there could be no future at all. Now the mistake or crime that would launch a thermonuclear catastrophe will be the last mistake, the last crime.

According to scientific analytical data, the deadly effect of a full-scale exchange of nuclear strikes coupled with the pernicious consequences of climatic and ecological changes (the "nuclear winter") would destroy intelligent life on earth. Or at least civilized forms of such life. Someone may object: Strictly speaking, all these are just hypotheses. Yes, strictly speaking, this is true. But, first, these are highly feasible hypotheses. And second, considering the price of a mistake, in this case it would be permissible to accept the worst alternative as the truth. This will make it possible to evaluate anew many conventional impressions and to choose accordingly the correct line of political behavior.

War is the continuation of politics, but by other, violent means. This formula of Clausewitz' was considered to be one of the few axioms of political science. And now? If it is launched and if it is fought, a war -- be it a conventional war or a nuclear missile war -- has been, is, and will be (regardless of consequences) a continuation of politics. Clausewitz is as axiomatic as ever. But the formula in question is not just a statement of fact. It defines the parameters of choice: In order to attain some political end it is possible, depending on circumstances, to either operate by peaceful means or use military force. Both alternatives are absolutely equal in principle. Everything depends on specific circumstances. But this is where Clausewitz is out of date. There is not, nor can there be, any political end for whose sake the future of mankind may be risked. A nuclear missile war cannot be perceived as a sensible choice or a rational means for the continuation of politics.

People have fought and do fight because, from the viewpoint of those who start a war and of those who resist aggression, some things are more important than peace.

For some these are power and wealth, for others -- independence and freedom. Independence was more important than peace both for the Americans in the late 18th century and for the Vietnamese in the mid-20th century. And they fought. They hoped to achieve victory, and they did achieve it. What if it is impossible to win a war? What if there will be victors but only vanquished? What if the one who is the first to start is the second to perish? It is evident that nothing is more important than preventing such a war. Nor is there anything more important than peace. The alternative to peace is a nuclear missile war. This is why the principled rejection of such a war is indeed the only sensible stance, the only morally and politically justified stance.

The history of wars has made it acceptable to think that the level of security of a given state is directly proportional to the quantity and quality of the weapons at its disposal. Now, under conditions of military-strategic parity and of the obvious impossibility to go beyond its parameters or breach it, it is virtually impossible to even think of unilateral security, of security guaranteed by some kind of military-technical "miracle" (like SDI, for example). The keys to the USSR's security are kept not only in Moscow but also in Washington. The converse is equally true: U.S. security is guaranteed not only by what is done in Washington but also by what is done in Moscow.

There can be only one conclusion: Anyone trying to build up his own security at the cost of infringing on the "opponent's" security will ultimately aggravate his own military-strategic situation. Here is a textbook example. When (in the early seventies) the Pentagon was about to MIRV its ballistic missiles, many people, including people in the United States, warned: This should not be done, it would be better to reach agreement with the Soviet Union and mutually abandon the next round of "modernization." But the U.S. strategists did not heed the voice of reason. They were too eager to rush ahead and feel more secure at the cost of an enhanced threat. And what happened? In order to maintain parity, the Soviet Union was forced to deploy similar systems. It was not security that increased, it was U.S. vulnerability that increased.

Real security in our age cannot result from any technical solutions, let alone from unilateral solutions. Real security is offered by political accords aimed at reducing and later liquidating existing nuclear missile potentials. Precisely this is the meaning of M.S. Gorbachev's well-known proposals published on 15 January. Unfortunately, the Americans have hitherto failed to surmount the intellectual barrier separating our age from the prenuclear one. They continue to think in the classical terms of strong-arm politics, identifying their security with their power. This is why when they are asked to sacrifice power for the sake of security their answer is "No!"

Sometimes you can hear the following view: What is there to actually worry about? Let plowshare be plowshares, and swords -- swords. Nuclear optimists claim that the real of mutual assured destruction and the equilibrium of fear -- fear of inevitable retribution -- create a sufficiently lasting and sufficiently durable framework for peaceful mutual relations.

Okay, this is valid for the time being. Peace is, indeed, for the time being maintained by the equilibrium of fear. But the whole point is that this equilibrium is burdened by internal instability, it is internally contradictory and paradoxical. Quite. If I know (if I believe) that the use of nuclear weapons by me would lead to my own destruction (by a retaliatory counterstrike), how can I deter the "opponent" by the threat of using nuclear weapons? Conversely, can the "opponent" consider my nuclear threat credible if it is presupposed that my strike will result in my inevitable destruction? Theory offers no convincing answers to these questions.

In practical terms, another aspect is much more important. The objective correlation of forces and actual intentions are not as significant as one side's impressions of the other side's forces and intentions.

And since the equilibrium of fear inevitably generates an equilibrium of mistrust, each side proceeds on the basis of the worst possible alternative for the "opponent's" behavior.

I have had numerous opportunities to debate these issues with Americans. They usually take great offense on hearing that we perceive their actions (the "star wars" program coupled with the "modernization" of strategic offensive weapons) as preparations for a first disarming strike. They try to prove, almost with tears in their eyes, that the United States has nothing at all like this in mind. One has to explain: We cannot guess what is inside the heads of Pentagon strategists. We can only conclude that their actions objectively create a first-strike potential. This potential cannot be ignored.

The arms race, even if equilibrium is maintained, leads to increased potential of mutual mistrust and therefore, to destabilization of the equilibrium itself.

There is only one way out. To halt the arms race and to embark on real disarmament. It has to be repeated: The United States is not prepared to do this. It decisively rejects even the minimum program proposed by the Soviet Union -- to ban nuclear weapon tests and thus hinder and slow down the arms race.

U.S. leaders admit in words that a nuclear missile war cannot be won. But an analysis of U.S. military policy convincingly shows that the Pentagon has not given up hope of rehabilitating Clausewitz and elaborating the "strategy of victory." U.S. researcher R. Ongood writes that the purpose of more accurate strategic weapons, of their more flexible targeting, and of more reliable command-control-communications systems is to ensure "technical potential for transforming the exchange of strategic nuclear strikes into a rational instrument of politics rather than an act of national suicide." The quest for victory is also the objective pursued by the various concepts of "graduated" exchange of nuclear strikes. Answering the organizers of such research, M.S. Gorbachev said: "Those who resort to arguments about 'limited,' short, or 'protracted' nuclear wars are evidently still in the grips of the obsolete stereotypes of an age when war was indeed a major calamity, but did not threaten, as it does now, the destruction of mankind. The nuclear age inevitably dictates a new political thinking."

Grim reality cannot be ignored. Nuclear war is possible while nuclear weapons exist. Such a war is not, however, inevitable. The task of politics, the paramount task facing mankind now, is to reduce and eliminate the possibility of a nuclear war. New thinking is a necessary prerequisite for the successful solution of this task. Accurately formulating the pernicious and mortally dangerous prospects of the arms race, it encourages energetic and purposeful antiwar activity. It prompts politicians to consider mutual interests, mutual concessions, and sensible compromises without which it is impossible to bring stances closer together. The new thinking, which was spoken of at the 27th CPSU Congress, is called upon to point out the path to a world without nuclear weapons. All other paths lead to catastrophe.

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RELATED ISSUES

TASS CITES AVGUST VOSS AT MEXICO CITY IPU MEETING

LD121340 Moscow TASS in English 0956 GMT 12 Apr 86

[Text] Mexico City, April 12 TASS--The march of world developments has now reached a stage where inactivity or delay may lead to a nuclear catastrophe, Avgust Voss, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and a deputy chairman of the Parliamentary Group of the USSR, has said here.

He was speaking during a discussion on the political, and economic situation in the world at the 75th Conference of the Interparliamentary Union. Voss is head of the Soviet delegation to the forum. "The matter at issue now," he stressed, "is not only the preservation of peace but also the survival of mankind."

He recalled that the Soviet Union had taken a series of unilateral steps to bridle the mad arms race. It had, for example, declared a moratorium on medium-range missile deployments in Europe, reduced the number of such missiles there, and had not conducted nuclear blasts for more than eight months now.

"But we see," he said further, "that the U.S. Administration has continued its adventurist policy of seeking military superiority and been whipping up the arms race and flagrantly meddling in the domestic affairs of a number of countries."

Voss recalled the U.S. recent use of weapons against independent and sovereign Libya as part of its neoglobalist policy. He said it was clear that the "punitive" operation had been planned in advance.

"Or take the situation in the Middle East," he said further. "A mechanism for talks on a Middle East settlement has long been proposed. It is an international conference on the Middle East under UN aegis with the participation of all sides concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization and a number of other parties, the USSR and the United States among them."

Voss said the United States and Israel, eager to replace a real search for peace in the Middle East with separate deals and thus consolidate their sway in the region, continued to hold an obstructionist stand on the conference idea.

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RELATED ISSUES

SOVIET HISTORIAN EXAMINES SECURITY IN NUCLEAR, SPACE AGE

AU280600 Moscow OБSHCHESTVENNNYE NAUKI in Russian No 2, Mar 85 (signed to press 13 Feb 86) pp 75-86

[Article by Prof Vladimir F. Petrovskiy, doctor of historical sciences, specialist in contemporary international relations and history of Soviet foreign policy: "New Parameters of Security;" the article was prepared on the basis of a chapter of the monographic work "Security in the Nuclear and Space Age," Moscow, International Relations Publishing House, 1985 -- uppercase passage published in italics]

[Text] The creation of a reliable system of national and international security has always been organically connected with the problem of war and peace. In this connection, states have invariably devoted primary attention to ensuring their own security, which embodied the sovereignty of a given state, the inviolability of its borders, and the right to its individual or collective self-defense. In practice, a state has security if it is able to ensure its free, independent, and peaceful development; this security presupposes the state's corresponding position in the system of international relations.

Thus, ensuring national security is linked to ensuring international security, that is, in other words, with maintaining and consolidating overall peace. It is no accident that in the UN Charter, formed for the purpose of sparing future generations the disasters of wars, peace and security are ranked equally and maintaining international peace and security is defined as the main task of the United Nations.

It goes without saying that the interpretation of the concept of security (both national and international) depends on concrete historical conditions and is determined by the policy of the ruling classes of this or that state. In this connection, the political awareness of people and, first and foremost, of those who form the policies, and their perception of security, or in other words, what is called the "sense of national security," acquires exceptional importance. If this sense is based on archaic notions that are out of step with international reality, it can also be exploited in the interests that are contrary to real security and its true criteria.

The political character of governments, parties, and social movements are most graphically revealed by their attitude toward the question of international and national security. For some, security is but speculation with emotions and with the words and declarations that are used to justify a course aimed at militarization of the economy and at camouflaging aggressive aspirations, while for others, it is a serious and important task which they treat soberly and responsibly.

These two diametrically opposed approaches do not differ only in their class-related characteristics. The approach to ensuring security also depends in many respects on how realistically representatives of the ruling class assess the world situation and the limits of what is possible and permissible in the fulfillment of their interests in the international arena.

What is new in the present formulation of the problem of security is the question of how security can be achieved by taking into account the realities of the nuclear and missile age. Mankind's prospects for being able to break the fetter of militarism and turn scientific-technological progress to peaceful and constructive purposes and remove from its path the barriers of hatred, prejudice, and lies erected by the imperialist reaction in order to divide the peoples depend on the answer to this question of principle in the contemporary period.

Of course, bringing political awareness into accord with the realities of the nuclear and missile age is not an automatic process. It is necessary to overcome the inertia of political thinking wherever it is based on past experience that has lost its significance in the new circumstances.

Progress in the nuclear sphere and space has once and for all overturned the notion of war -- implanted by the bourgeois ideology -- as a rational and nearly legitimate means of politics and as one of the expedient variations of political conduct. When we speak about war and peace, M.S. Gorbachev has pointed out, it is necessary to "bear in mind that the nature of contemporary weapons and, first and foremost nuclear weapons has changed the traditional notions of these problems. Mankind is on the threshold of a new stage of the scientific-technological revolution which will also affect the further development of military weapons and technical equipment. Those who resort to arguments about 'limited,' 'short,' or 'protracted' nuclear wars have obviously remained to this day captives of outdated stereotypes of the time when war represented a major misfortune but did not threaten the end of mankind as it does now. The nuclear age inevitably dictates new political thinking." (Footnote 1) (PRAVDA, 19 February 1984) In other words, it is necessary to overcome the gap that has formed between the achieved level of material civilization, including its military-technological component, and certain moral-political criteria of the not very distant past. The complicated nature of the task by no means indicates that it is not feasible.

It is very indicative that the sober-minded political figures of all countries, irrespective of their political or other persuasions, are very fruitfully uniting their efforts in forming the political thinking that corresponds to the realities of the nuclear age and in searching for ways of building a safe world. It is perfectly obvious to these figures that under present conditions security can only be ensured by POLITICAL means and that it must be based, first and foremost, on the recognition and practical implementation in international relations of the principle of peaceful coexistence, which represents the foundation of general security. The rise and strengthening of real socialism and the growth of its power and influence open up the possibilities for this. The principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems is firmly fixed in the USSR Constitution. The organic link between this principle, the relaxation of international tension, and general security is emphasized in the Draft New Edition of the CPSU Program.

"the party will strive to develop the process of relaxation of international tension, considering it a natural and necessary stage on the road to creating a comprehensive and reliable security system," this document says.

In the age of nuclear weapons and super-precision missiles the implementation of the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems is needed by peoples more than ever before. This viewpoint is shared by all who stand by the positions of political realism and who sincerely care about ensuring safe conditions for mankind's existence in the nuclear and space age. It goes without saying that peaceful coexistence is by no means synonymous with recognition of the status quo or with denial of the peoples' right to struggle for their national and social liberation. Political realism stands for the belief that PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE IS NOT SIMPLY THE ABSENCE OF WAR BUT A UNIFICATION OF THE EFFORTS OF STATES AIMED AT MAINTAINING INTERNATIONAL SECURITY. The concept of "security from war, advanced by Soviet diplomacy on the eve of World War II, has assumed an extraordinarily relevant importance in our era and has become a distinctive categorical imperative of the nuclear and space age.

It goes without saying that, as long as there are weapons in the world, the implementation of military measures will continue to be an important means of ensuring security. The care for sufficient security for one's own country and its allies and for maintaining the armed forces and armaments at the level that is essential for defense is of great importance for protecting the sovereignty of a state against encroachments from abroad. The united defense potential of the Warsaw Pact countries with its deterrent power not only represents the guarantee for the constructive work of the peoples of these countries and for their sovereignty and independence but also the guarantee for general peace on earth.

Under certain conditions security can only be ensured by means of military measures. However, the significance of these measures should not be absolutized. Military measures can only be of a temporary nature and in the final analysis true security is only achieved on the basis of political accords.

The recognition and implementation of the norms and principles of conduct of states as provided for in particular by the UN Charter are of great importance for ensuring peaceful coexistence. The observance of these principles requires finding peaceful ways of solving international problems.

The efforts of states to liquidate the sources of threats to international security -- the arms race, neocolonialism, racism, apartheid, and violations of the right of peoples to self-determination -- assume a special significance, considered from the viewpoint of forming a secure peace. The consolidation of general security also presupposes the efforts aimed at solving global problems. The political approach to ensuring security necessitates the active employment of diplomacy not for "accumulated pressures" and for pursuing a policy "from the position of strength" but for negotiations to achieve generally acceptable accords.

Ensuring the interests of general security is incompatible with conducting negotiations for the sake of negotiations and with introducing into diplomatic practice the methods of linking specific issues with some other issues that are not related to the subject of negotiations. Such an approach only serves the goal of "obtaining through bargaining" some unilateral advantages, it hinders the achievement of real results and poisons the political climate. Against this kind of petty "diplomacy" the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community pursue constructive diplomacy aimed at searching for a generally acceptable balance of interests in the course of negotiations and at solving the problem that arise on a large scale, responsibly and realistically.

A political approach to the questions of ensuring security is also necessary because, as many realistically minded figures in the West believe, security requires that the domestic situation in the countries involved be taken into account. As a result of allotting increasingly large resources for military needs, the domestic basis of national security of the capitalist countries is noticeably weakening. This idea was formulated in the report of the O. Palme Commission in the following way: "The tragedy is... that the more we strive to ensure security against external threats by increasing military power, the more vulnerable we become in relation to internal threats, that is, precisely, the threats of economic failures and social disorders." (Footnote 2) ("Security for All. Disarmament Program. Report of the Independent Commission for Disarmament and Security Presided Over by Olof Palme," Moscow, 1982, p. 31)

The continued attempts in the West to separate national security from international security or even to pit these two essentially organically linked categories against each other are also contrary to the realities of the nuclear and missile age. A policy of aggression and territorial conquest pursued by any state jeopardizes the security of other countries and peoples and undermines international security. As a result, the national security of the very state that has embarked on the path of aggression is also undermined.

In the nuclear and space age the link between "one's own" and "someone else's" security, between national and international security becomes increasingly close. Just as peace is indivisible under the conditions of nuclear confrontation, which creates the threat of destruction of ALL mankind, so security is also indivisible. National and group security cannot be ensured outside the framework of general security and, accordingly, eliminating the threat of nuclear war and excluding all use of force provides the only prospects for strengthening national security.

The Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community consistently defend this viewpoint. As far back as in the sixties, the Warsaw Pact member-countries declared themselves in favor of creating "such a system of mutual relations between peoples and of interstate relations in which the security of each would simultaneously be security for all." (Footnote 3) ("The Soviet Union's Foreign Policy. 1966. Collection of Documents." Moscow, 1967, p. 169)

Today not only the governments of socialist countries but also the leading figures of many capitalist states who are aware of their responsibility for the fate of the world act under the slogan of "Security for all." However, the aggressive circles of imperialism and, first and foremost of American imperialism, stubbornly refuse to follow this path. They continue to view the world through the prism of narrow class and egoistic interests, disregarding the interests of general security.

To cover up their policy, hostile toward other countries and peoples and based on the reliance on nuclear blackmail and the use of force in all its diverse forms, the politicians and ideologues of imperialism resort to various kinds of propaganda maneuvers. Thus, advancing the concept of "mutual interdependence," the theoreticians who are close to the U.S. ruling circles use the objectively existing trend in the world of intensification of mutual interdependence and mutual interconnection of various processes to justify Washington's hegemonic and militarist policy, which has nothing in common with the interests of consolidating security.

According to this concept, the disparity between the international legal foundation of general security based on national sovereignty, on the one hand, and the growing "mutual interdependence," on the other, is proclaimed as the main source of crises and contradictions in international relations. In defiance of facts it is claimed, for instance, that the energy crisis has been provoked by actions of the countries striving to preserve their sovereignty over their own natural resources and to protect their own economic interests and not by the self-seeking calculations of imperialism.

Fanning the hotbeds of tension, the United States then exploits the explosive situations created by itself to substantiate the "necessity" of an American military and naval presence in various regions of the world and, in particular, in the Indian Ocean and in the zone adjacent to Persian Gulf.

The concept of "indivisibility of security" of the West and its global interests, preached by imperialists, defies the interests of regional and global security. It is by means of this concept, imposed on its allies at the meeting of "the seven" in Williamsburg in May 1983, that the United States tries to tie the allies to its own global military-strategic plans, that is, to Washington's militarist policy and military preparations in the regions that do not officially fall within the NATO "sphere of responsibility." This concept is also used to cover up the U.S. attempts to appropriate for itself the right to direct the fate of the world.

The concepts of "mutual interdependence" and "indivisibility of security" of the West are aimed at undermining international security and the actions taken on the basis of these concepts seriously harm the formation of a durable peace. They are incompatible with the realities of the nuclear and space age which urgently demand such an approach to international affairs in which national or group security would be considered indissolubly linked with international security and would be correlated to it as a part of one whole. **SECURITY FOR ONESELF MUST SIMULTANEOUSLY SIGNIFY SECURITY FOR ALL -- this is the immutable truth of the nuclear age.**

The realistically minded figures in the West, including in the United States, take this into account. Thus, M. Shulman, former special adviser to the U.S. Department of State and director of the Harriman Institute for Long-Term Study of the Soviet Union, points out: "We must always remember that the defense of our security and our ideals does not only depend on a judicious management of relations with the Soviet Union but also on the condition of the international system itself.... It is necessary to strengthen that system and protect it against the anarchy and chaos that now threaten it.... For this purpose we must strive to introduce limitations against the use of force.... In addition to that, we ourselves must show our readiness to respect such limitations." (Footnote 4) (HARPER'S magazine, April 1984)

The nuclear age has also conditioned a new formulation of the question of correlation of the security of different states.

As a result of the Soviet Union's active efforts, the idea of mutual and equal security was a subject of wide discussions by international forums as far back as the thirties. Consequently, it was embodied as a norm in international law. In the sixties and seventies this idea was developed and concretized and applied to solving the problems of arms limitation and disarmament. It represented the basis of the principle of parity and equal security in the relations between the USSR and the United States as the two biggest powers and between the Warsaw Pact and NATO and of the principle of refraining from harming anyone's security in the relations between all states. (Footnote 5) (In conformity with the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures, Security,

and Disarmament, this principle has been concretized as the principle of equality of rights and of respect for the security interests of all participating states.) These principles, which make it possible to take into account the security interests of all sides to an equal extent, have been affirmed in the most important bilateral and multi-lateral documents and have been widely introduced in international practice. All accords that have been achieved in the sphere of arms limitation are based on them.

However, the practical implementation of the principles of mutual and equal security is not limited to this sphere.

The document "The Foundations of Mutual Relations Between the USSR and the United States of America," signed at the highest level in Moscow (in May 1972), specifically notes that "the recognition of the sides' security interests on the basis of the principle of equality and the renunciation of the use of force or threat of use of force are prerequisites for maintaining the relations of peace between the USSR and the United States." (Footnote 6) ("The Soviet Peace Program in Action. On the Results of the Soviet-American Negotiations." Moscow, 1972, p 17)

With the nuclear threat hanging over the world there is no other reliable way of protecting the interests of big and small countries than a consistent observance of the principles of equal and mutual security. All states are required to weigh their conduct in the international arena against these principles. Practical experience in international relations in the recent period convincingly demonstrates that that only mutual respect by one state for the security interests of another state can ensure overall stable security. RECIPROCITY IN OBLIGATIONS AND RECIPROCITY IN ADVANTAGES -- this is the formula of security in contemporary conditions. "Selective" security is a utopia in the nuclear age.

However, the most aggressive imperialist circles also ignore these realities of international politics. Deliberately distorting the meaning of the concept of national security, they promote foreign policy concepts according to which ensuring national security is made dependent on the fulfillment of hegemonist and expansionist actions in regions extending from the Persian Gulf to the Caribbean basin by citing "concern" for its national security. The American military presence in various regions of the world is also expanding under this same pretext. Washington cites "concern" for the security of its NATO allies as justification for deploying new first-strike nuclear weapons on their territories, weapons that threaten both European and international security.

All forms of interference in the internal affairs of other countries represent a most serious threat to security. What is a cause for particular concern is the fact that in recent years the United States has more and more frequently undertaken the actions aimed at undermining the sociopolitical systems of other states and at overthrowing legitimate governments that follow an independent and anti-imperialist course in the international arena. The forces of special services and the bands of mercenaries armed by them, are in fact waging undeclared wars against the countries that refuse to subordinate themselves to Washington's diktat. The peoples struggling to realize their inalienable right to self-determination are victims of the neocolonialist policy. They are deprived of their territories that are annexed by the occupation forces and they are denied the right to political independence. In its unrestrained striving for world domination U.S. imperialism shrinks from no means and is elevating terrorism to the level of state policy.

The concern over the increasingly frequent instances of interference by Western powers and their assistants in the internal affairs of other countries and concern over the

attempts to impose on peoples the models of sociopolitical development which have been rejected by them found expression in the statements by representatives of many states at the 39th session of the UN General Assembly. As the resolution "On the Impermissibility of the Policy of State Terrorism and of Any Actions by States Aimed at Undermining the Sociopolitical Systems in Other Sovereign States," adopted by the session at the USSR's initiative, points out, the interests of ensuring peace and security demand that the relations between all states be based on strict observance of the UN Charter, renunciation of the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity of any state, noninterference in the internal affairs of one another, and respect for the right of peoples to self-determination and independence.

Anyone who stands by the position of political realism inevitably concludes that security on the global as well as on the regional scale is incompatible with efforts to achieve unilateral advantages or with interference in the internal affairs of other states. Ensuring security requires a strict observance of the principle of reciprocity, which excludes the possibility of harming the security of anyone and which binds everyone to show restraint.

The policy based on the notion that armed peace allegedly represents a reliable guarantee of security is unacceptable and extremely dangerous in the nuclear and space age. For centuries the ruling classes in the exploitative society linked ensuring national security with increasing armed forces and armaments. More than 100 years ago A. Nobel, inventor of dynamite, said that he saw dynamite as a "great hope for the world." He believed that the horrible consequences of the use of dynamite would lead politicians to accept the idea of the impossibility of wars. It goes without saying that this has not taken place. The invention of dynamite, just as the equipping of the military potentials of states with machine guns, tanks, planes, or poisonous chemical substances, not only failed to end wars but, on the contrary, has made them even more destructive. The development of armaments, accompanying the formation of militarism, has undermined international security and has constantly represented a threat of war.

But the direction of the unrestrained arms race that has now been taken by the U.S. and NATO militarist circles already entails the danger of a global catastrophe. Lenin's statement that the military application of the latest and most powerful achievements of science and technology can lead to undermining the very conditions for existence of human society have become especially relevant in the nuclear age. Today, as the arms race moves into ever new rounds, the danger is increasing that mass weapons can be put in action and turn into detonator of a general nuclear conflict either as a result of some military-political miscalculation or as a result of some technical defect in the latest weapons systems. Moreover, the growth of nuclear weapons in the world stimulates the attempts of nonnuclear states to acquire their own nuclear weapons, something that undermines the system of their nonproliferation.

The development and accumulation of types of weapons that are more and more difficult to subject to control or verification by other states limits the possibilities for banning or limiting them on the basis of international agreements. In other words, under certain conditions the arms race may become completely uncontrollable. Furthermore, the arms race worsens political relations, engenders mistrust and suspicion, and creates that general unfavorable psychological atmosphere in which nearly any friction, dispute, or disagreement can grow into a dangerous conflict.

The question of preventing the arms race in outer space represents the key and principled question of ensuring general security under contemporary conditions. Exploiting the people's fear of nuclear weapons, representatives of the U.S. Administration say that the "star wars" program advanced by them can allegedly free the world of

these weapons. In reality, however, the aim of this program is to gain for the United States the capability of inflicting with impunity a nuclear first strike against the Soviet Union and of depriving it of the possibility of a retaliatory strike by creating [sozdavat] that country's antimissile defense. If the space-based strike weapons are created [sozdavat] and deployed in near-earth space, mankind might find itself facing an unforeseeable situation. The danger of war will increase many times.

From its very first actions in the international arena and to this day the Soviet Union has maintained the view that the arms race cannot ensure anyone's security. This was unwise in the past but in the nuclear age it is totally groundless. The path to real security runs, first and foremost, through practical arms limitation and disarmament measures.

These ideas have been widely reflected in political documents of the most important international forums. Thus, the final document of the first special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament points out: "Achieving security as one of the inseparable elements of peace has always represented the goal that corresponds to the deepest aspirations of mankind. For a long time states tried to ensure their security by mastering weapons. However, today the stockpiling of weapons and especially nuclear weapons represents more a threat than a protection of the future of peoples. Therefore, the time has come to end this situation and move toward a search for security through disarmament, that is, by means of a gradual but effective process that would begin with a gradual but effective process that would begin with a gradual reduction of the present level of armaments." (Footnote 7) ("The Resolution and Decisions Adopted by the UN General Assembly at the 10th Special Session from 23 May to 30 June 1978. Appendix No 4 -- UN Documents A/5-10/4")

The second special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament essentially confirmed a most important postulate of the nuclear age: There is no and can be no lasting international security, and therefore also national security, under the conditions of the continued arms race.

This conclusion has been confirmed by history. For instance, by having started every new round of the arms race in the postwar period, the United States has by no means thereby helped strengthen its own national security. The United States, whose territory was protected by oceans and was never a battleground for world wars, has lost its invulnerability as a result of the appearance of nuclear weapons. In 1965 American military experts concluded that no less than 60 to 80 million people would die in the United States as a result of the first exchange of nuclear strikes. After another 15 years this figure was increased to 120-130 million people. This then is the "security" which the nuclear weapon, invented by it and already tested by it on human targets, has brought to the United States!

In the nuclear missile age, security -- both international and national -- must be considered an antipode to an increase in arms, which in the final analysis may turn into "zero security," that is, total self-destruction.

In the nuclear and space age international security has turned out to be linked in a complex way with global problems, that is, with solving the problems of providing mankind with energy, raw materials, and food, and with overcoming the underdeveloped state of vast regions in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. There is a dialectic interaction between these problems and the state of international security. Reducing the acuteness of global problems and overcoming their most dangerous consequences requires the strengthening of the foundations of security and peace and, first and foremost, the

limitation of the arms race and the development of broad and mutually beneficial international cooperation on the basis of equality. "Military activities in all their forms, beginning with the arms race and ending with military operations, represent an important and, at times, truly decisive factor in the exacerbation of this type of problem." (Footnote 8) (Yu. Ye. Fedorov: "International Security and Global Problems." Moscow, 1983, p 7)

The continuation of the arms race and the policy of confrontation, imposed on the world by the imperialist circles, leads to increasing international tension and creates real dangers of regression in the productive forces and living conditions of man on earth.

The militarist policy of Washington and its allies, expending enormous material and financial resources for unproductive purposes--the arms race--has come into direct conflict with the fundamental interests of the world's peoples. Moreover, the exacerbation of the global problems of economic development leads to the intensification of sociopolitical contradictions which, in turn, increases the danger of international conflicts and crises and creates a threat to international security.

The answer of the U.S. ruling clique to the exacerbation of the energy and raw materials problems in the seventies was to advance the concept of the "war for resources" and to sharply intensify the interventionist direction of U.S. actions in the developing countries and, first and foremost, in the oil producing regions. Covering itself with arguments about the need to ensure the West's "economic security," the United States continues to increase its military presence in various regions of the planet and uses trade and economic and scientific-technological relations as a means of political pressure against other countries.

Whereas the reflection of the exacerbation of global problems is extremely contradictory in the policy and ideology of imperialist states and is connected in many respects with their course of militarization of international relations, the reaction of the socialist community countries to the rise of these problems corresponds to the consistent peace-loving nature of their foreign policy, which is based on the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence. The socialist countries do not separate the concern for their economic and scientific-technological security from solutions for the global problems facing all mankind. The declaration "Preservation of Peace and International Economic Cooperation," adopted by the economic conference of CEMA member-countries at the highest level in Moscow in 1984, stresses in particular the close link between peace, security, and development of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis.

The socialist countries consistently advocate the establishment of a new international economic system. They support the proposal of developing countries on preparing and holding global negotiations, emphasizing in this connection that the success of any negotiations concerning the development of a new system of international economic relations can only be ensured if these negotiations are based on the progressive provisions of the Charter of Economic Rights and Obligations of State and the Declaration on and Action Program for Establishing a New World Economic System. They stress that such important factors of international relations as the relaxation of tension, limitation of the arms race, and the adoption of effective measures in the sphere of real disarmament must be fully taken into consideration.

The socialist countries advocate the renunciation of all forms of exploitation in international economic relations, the implementation by states of economic confidence-building measures, and the fruitful cooperation of all countries in solving global problems.

The existence of global problems adds new dimensions to international security in the nuclear and space age. Because these problems are of global nature and because their exacerbation creates the threat of regression of productive forces and of undermining the peaceful conditions of mankind's existence, their solution represents an important element in ensuring the national security of various countries. Today the global problems can only be solved along the path of strengthening international security.

Under contemporary conditions, when what is involved is no longer simply a matter of opposition between the two systems but a matter of choosing between survival and mutual annihilation, a new realistic approach to the problems of security becomes imperative.

The Soviet Union's latest foreign policy actions, aimed at breaking the dangerous course of world development with the force of arguments, with the force of example, and with the force of common sense, are permeated with real concern for the security of peoples. The meeting between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President R. Reagan held in Geneva in November 1985 represented a significant event in international life.

In its approach to relations with the United States, the Soviet Union proceeds from the fact that the security problem is the central problem of these relations. "We," M.S. Gorbachev points out, "are resolutely in favor of achieving agreements that would ensure equal security for both sides." (Footnote 9) (PRAVDA, 22 November 1985) Although the Geneva meeting did not succeed in solving the concrete problems of arms limitation and reduction, the important fact is that the meeting confirmed Soviet-American agreement on the need to seek ways of preventing the arms race in outer space and ending it on earth which had been reached in January 1985.

The joint statement on impermissibility of nuclear war and on renouncing the achievement of military supremacy, incorporated in the final document of the Geneva meeting, is of principled importance. The fact that the meeting initiated the dialogue aimed at changes for the better in Soviet-American relations and in the world in general is also of great importance.

At the very beginning of 1986, which the United Nations has proclaimed International Year of Peace, the Soviet Union put forth a package of new foreign policy initiatives. As is pointed out in the statement by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, these initiatives are calculated to ensure that "mankind will meet the year 2000 under peaceful skies and a peaceful outer space, that it will know no fear of nuclear, chemical, or any other threat of annihilation, and that it will be firmly confident of its own survival and of the continuation of the human race." (Footnote 10) (PRAVDA, 16 January 1986)

The implementation of the new Soviet proposals would make it possible to lay the lasting foundations for a reliable security system for all.

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RELATED ISSUES

CPSU GENERAL SECRETARY'S REPLY TO FRG STUDENT ON FUTURE

LD231723 Moscow TASS in English 1707 GMT 23 Apr 86

[Text] Bonn April 23 TASS -- Kerstin Vetter, tenth-form pupil, wrote a letter to the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev on behalf of a group of pupils from a school in the town of Landau (Rhineland-Pfalz). In her letter she asked him to share his thoughts and ideas about the roads of development of the world today and its future. Today the West German school children visited the Soviet Embassy in Bonn where they were given a reply from the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. It says:

"Dear Kerstin,

I have received your letter in which on behalf of your classmates you raise a very big question: What dreams and concerns do I link with the future -- in my country and in terms of general human relations.

The future does not appear to me to be a silent and dark figure grimly and fatally looming up. The future is knocking at the door of our daily life and its shoots are sprouting before our very eyes. It is being created today by human hands and the result which is called the future depends on the combination of our actions and efforts.

Today one may not, cannot agree to the presence of nuclear weapons on this planet. The truth, a very unpleasant truth, is that nuclear weapons, should it be put to use, can really rob all mankind of its future.

This is why my aspirations just as the aspirations of my colleagues in the country's leadership and the aspirations of all Soviet people are directed at achieving a nuclear-free world and, ultimately, a world without wars and without any weapons at all. This is not a utopia.

It is a utopia to hope to preserve the humanity while continuing the arms race which is spiralling and now threatens to spill into outer space. There exist the statistics showing the scopes of this race. But no statistics can reflect the ever growing "arsenal" of reason and good will, the arsenal of peace replenished by the aspirations of millions. We are convinced that it is capable of eliminating military arsenals that threaten humanity.

We in the Soviet Union are confident about tomorrow. We not simply predict our future but plan it, carefully calculating our material and intellectual resources, the potential inherent in our system. We take vigorous efforts that will enable us to reach to goals set. These goals were determined up to the year 1990 and throughout to the year 2000 by the 27th Congress of the Communist Party.

The point is qualitatively to improve and raise to an entirely new level the material, social, cultural and intellectual life of the Soviet man.

We are aware that it is impossible to build a better world for ourselves in accordance with our ideals while denying this to others. To exist, the states and peoples should learn to coexist. It is necessary to stamp out in the world community the vestiges of the past, such as hostility, hatred, and lack of understanding and rejection of the just rights and demands of any people, whether big or small. This goal can be achieved if we fight for it. May your motto be Goethe's words:

Only he deserves freedom and life who has to conquer them every day.

I was pleased, dear Kerstin, to receive your letter in Russian. Knowledge of each other's language is a means of mutual understanding and rapprochement between people in different countries.

I do not object to my reply being included in the book of polls about the future which you, judging by your letter, are compiling in your class.

With respects,

M. Gorbachev"

The school children from Landau warmly thanked for the reply. [as received] They said they had sent similar letters to President Ronald Reagan of the United States, to other politicians and also to coevals in many countries of the world. True, Reagan has not yet replied. At present they are looking for a publishing house that would agree to publish their book -- A poll about the future.

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RELATED ISSUES

CPSU MAY DAY APPEALS URGE DISARMAMENT, PEACE

LD122132 Moscow TASS in English 2011 GMT 12 Apr 86

[Text] Moscow, April 13 TASS--In the appeals on the occasion of May Day published here today the CPSU Central Committee urged peoples of the world: "Actively counter the menace of a nuclear war coming from imperialism", "Work for complete discontinuation of nuclear tests", "Prevent the militarization of outer space."

The CPSU Central Committee urged peoples of the world to resolutely struggle against the imperialist policy of aggression and violence and to press for the elimination of the hotbeds of war danger.

Addressing peoples of all countries, the CPSU Central Committee urged them to struggle "against the menace of war, for the termination of the arms race and for the creation of an all-embracing system of international security".

The CPSU Central Committee also urged peoples of all countries to intensify "the struggle for the democratization of international relations, for the constructive cooperation of nations in the solution of global problems of today".

The CPSU Central Committee sent "fraternal greetings to the courageous fighters for the interests of the working people languishing in prison cells". It demanded: "Freedom to prisoners of imperialist and reactionary forces".

The CPSU Central Committee hailed world socialism--a powerful and influential force of today. "Let the cooperation of socialist countries grow stronger".

The CPSU Central Committee hailed the Leninist foreign policy of the Soviet Union--the policy of the consolidation of peace and security of nations, of broad international cooperation. "Let peace without weapons and wars triumph on our planet".

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RELATED ISSUES

PRAVDA REVIEW OF WEEK'S INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

PM211422 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Apr 86 First Edition p 4

[Nikolay Bragin "International Review"]

[Excerpt] Policy of Acceleration

The attention of the world public and press is at present focused on M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the 11th SED Congress that is being held in Berlin. This speech was perceived as further convincing confirmation of the Soviet Union's desire to achieve a fundamental turnaround in the acceleration of our country's socioeconomic development, the further strengthening of socialism's positions in the international arena, the curbing of imperialism's aggressive aspirations, and the deliverance of mankind from the threat of thermonuclear war.

"The socialist world," the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee declared, "is living through a particular, and one may say crucial, stage. History has firmly posed before us the need to make fuller use of the advantages of the new social system in order to accelerate scientific, technical, economic, and social progress and enrich the socialist way of life with new aspects. This will be decisively significant for the attractive force of socialism and the strengthening of its positions in the international arena. The task of curbing the nuclear threat, blocking imperialism's aggressive aspirations, and preserving and strengthening peace is more imperative than ever before."

The Soviet Union, together with the fraternal socialist countries, is creatively and innovatively approaching the solution of the tasks facing us regarding the present stage of historical development. An indication of this is provided by the results of the work of the 27th CPSU Congress, the decisions of the recently held CPCZ and BCP congresses, and the materials of the 11th SED Congress currently under way in Berlin. The GDR Communists comprehensively discussed the task facing them and mapped out paths for further progress in the building of socialism. The fact that a steady upsurge in the economic and social spheres has been ensured in the GDR for more than 15 years now, the congress noted, can be rightfully described as historical proof of the potential of real socialism. The growth of every socialist country's economic potential augments the might of the entire socialist community. This is why it is very important to comprehensively strengthen their cooperation and interaction.

Engaged in peaceful creative labor, the socialist countries see it as their paramount duty to do everything possible to improve the situation in the international arena and to halt the world's slide toward nuclear catastrophe. A realistic way to solve this problem was proposed by the Soviet Union in its program for the total liquidation of nuclear weapons by the year 2000.

Politicians, statesmen, and public figures in many countries, eminent scientists, members of the activists of antiwar movements, and millions of ordinary people all over the world recognize that the termination of nuclear explosions and the holding of talks to conclude an agreement banning all further nuclear weapon tests would be a specific practical step along the path of curbing the nuclear arms race. This is why there was such approval for the initiative of the Soviet Union, which announced the unilateral introduction of a moratorium on nuclear tests as of 6 August last year, and extended it until 31 March this year, and subsequently until the first nuclear explosion of the United States. The USSR called on the United States to follow its example and thus open the way for the solution of the problem of reducing nuclear arms and of disarmament. The world press was correct in reckoning that "historic opportunity" was being offered to proceed from words to deeds in the solution of a problem on which mankind's very existence depends.

But people in Washington turned a deaf ear to the demands by peace-loving forces. The Reagan administration also ignored the demand by the American people, who backed the moratorium idea.

To Halt the Slide Toward Catastrophe

The nuclear explosion conducted in Nevada on 10 April withered the shoots of hope nurtured by millions of people. According to U.S. press reports, another nuclear weapon test will be conducted at the very same testing ground in the future. It is quite easy to perceive that this will make the international situation even more tense.

This situation is being increasingly aggravated as a result of the White House having begun the implementation of the "star wars" program, which will lead to a new and uncontrollable spiral of the nuclear arms race.

The week's events confirm that not only the Washington champions of "star wars" but also their accomplices in Britain and the FRG are the subject of condemnation by the peace-loving public.

At present, people in the United States and beyond its borders are following with fully justified alarm yet another action, hostile to the cause of peace and devised by the Pentagon "hawks." We are talking about the intention to revise the foundations of the SALT II Treaty which, in the past, set certain limits to the parameters of strategic weapons of the United States and the Soviet Union. In breach of the limits enshrined in the SALT II Treaty, they are demanding a buildup of U.S. nuclear missile potential. A session chaired by President R. Reagan was held in the insistence of the U.S. Administration's most bellicose representatives in Washington on Thursday, 16 April, to make a decision on whether the United States ought to continue to observe the SALT II Treaty.

The session was accompanied by provocative noises about alleged "violations" of SALT II and other treaties by the Soviet Union, and this was needed, according to THE WASHINGTON POST, in order to justify "countermeasures." These measures envisage a buildup of submarine-launched missiles, expansion of the production of MX missiles, Minuteman III triple-charged missiles, and cruise missiles, and accelerated financing of work on yet another "new missile" - the Midgetman. In other words, the "hawks" want Washington to take the path of abandoning the policy of "nonviolation of SALT II," a path fraught with serious consequences. The near future will show what actions the U.S. President will take. For the time being, as THE NEW YORK TIMES claims, the conference "made no decision."

On 15 April, 150 members of the House of Representatives sent President Reagan a letter demanding observance of the SALT II Treaty's provisions. Speaking in the Senate on 16 April, Democratic Senator J. Biden declared that a refusal to observe the treaty's provisions "will be detrimental to our own security."

Let me recall that, with a view to improving the situation in Europe and delivering it from the nightmare of the nuclear danger, the Soviet Union proposed that Soviet and U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles be removed from all European territory with the condition that the other NATO members -- Britain and France -- not build up their military potential. Now the very same governments that perceived the Soviet SS-20 missiles as the main danger for Western Europe declare that there must be no blocking of the path to buildup the number of British and French missiles and nuclear warheads. This is totally illogical. It lacks even the slightest mention of the principle of equality and equal security. Nor is there any logic in the policy of the FRG which proclaims its love for peace verbally while, in practice, allows on its territory cruise missiles and Pershings targeted on the East. Bonn not only zealously supported the U.S. SDI program, but even supplemented it with the European "star wars" alternative.

Nor have the FRG ruling circles abandoned revisionist calculations. This is a hopeless and dangerous policy. It would be in the interests of the FRG itself and of the improvement of the European climate that Bonn's policy should indeed pursue peaceful goals. This would also create a more firm basis for the development of that country's relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states.

The Soviet Union is prepared to develop increasingly broad relations with all its European partners on an equal basis, for mutual benefit, and for the sake of strengthening peace on the continent, and this was reaffirmed by the results of Swedish Prime Minister L. Carlsson's visit to Moscow this week.

When speaking about Europe, the Soviet Union perceives yet another major problem. Powerful armed forces, equipped with conventional weapons, confront each other on the continent. These are two groups of armed forces, each one some 3 million strong and having at their disposal the latest weapons. It is claimed in NATO countries that Western Europe apparently cannot give up nuclear weapons, including U.S. nuclear weapons, because in such an event it would feel less secure in the face of the Warsaw Pact countries' armed forces and conventional weapons. This argument is obviously false. "Never, and under no circumstances at all," the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee declared at the SED congress, "will our country initiate military actions against Western Europe unless we and our allies become the targets of attack by NATO! I repeat: Never!"

This stance by the USSR is confirmed by the new initiative, offering that agreements be reached on a significant reduction of all components of ground forces and tactical air forces of European states and the corresponding U.S. and Canadian forces stationed in Europe. Nuclear arms for operational-tactical purposes would be reduced simultaneously with conventional arms.

The Soviet Union is prepared to examine other constructive peace-loving initiatives.

The idea of curbing the arms race for weapons of mass destruction, of the need to display realism in the implementation of practical measures to terminate nuclear weapon explosions encounters support from a growing number of states as evidenced, for example, by the recent statement by Zhao Ziyang, premier of the PRC State Council, who confirmed his country's readiness to make its contribution to the solution of this problem and not to conduct nuclear tests in the atmosphere in the future.

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RELATED ISSUES

'INTERNATIONAL SITUATION: QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS' ON SED

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["International Situation -- Questions and Answers" program presented by Konstantin Patsyuk, not further identified, with TASS Military Affairs Observer Vladimir Bogachev, correspondent Yevgeniy Kachanov, International Affairs Journalist Eduard Kovalev, and Commentator Sergey Pravdin]

[Excerpts] [Patsyuk] Dear comrades, our program is based on your letters. The event with which I would like to open our program has not yet been reflected in your letters, of course. However, due to its importance it deserves special attention.

The event is the 11th SED Congress that is being held in Berlin and the speech delivered by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. This speech at the forum of the GDR Communists, where the program for the country's further advance is being discussed, has aroused enormous interest among the congress delegates. As the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee has pointed out, our friends have large-scale yet workable projects, for they are based on important results achieved by the Republic.

When speaking about the international situation the orator stressed that the task of curbing the nuclear threat, blocking the aggressive strivings of imperialism, and maintaining and strengthening peace is as pressing as ever. The Soviet Union proposed a specific program for the total scrapping of nuclear arms which was supported vigorously by the allied socialist states and many world states. People have been given the hope that the political atmosphere will change for the better. Unfortunately, this hope is being seriously tested today because of Washington's actions. From the capital of Socialist GDR, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev addressed to all people of Western Europe an appeal not to believe the fabrications about the aggressiveness of the Soviet Union. Under no circumstances will our country ever start military actions against Western Europe, he stated, unless we and our allies become the object of an attack by NATO. The USSR has issued a new initiative related this time to conventional arms and armed forces. It proposes reaching an agreement on a considerable reduction in all components of the ground forces and tactical air forces of European states and also of the corresponding forces of the United States and Canada stationed in Europe.

One of our regular listeners, Pavel Andreyevich Tyukalov from Votkinsk, Udmurt ASSR, writes that peace on our planet has been attained at a heavy price on the battlefields of the Great Patriotic War and in unyielding combats with Hitlerite fascism. Comrade Tyukalov points out that the antinuclear movement is now gaining strength and growing in the world, and the participants of the movement are demanding that the arms race be curbed. What our country now proposes -- large-scale peace initiatives -- fully accords with the expectations of all people of goodwill.

The U.S. Administration takes the directly opposite, defiant stand, and blocks all our proposals. Lies, slander, deception, attempts at lecturing and even punishing entire countries and peoples -- such is the arsenal of means employed by the U.S. Administration in its foreign policy, writes the author.

Vasiliy Ivanovich Murashov from Gorkiy Oblast, Anna Ivanovna Kvartalnaya from the town of Bykhov and others condemn this dangerous course of Reagan's administration.

Comrades Lizgachev from Chkalovsk, Gorkiy Oblast, Tolstikov from Irkutsk Oblast, Arshikov from the town of Orel, Chebotarev from Kalach, Voronezh Oblast, Kovtun from Moscow, Rakeyev from perm Domnin from the town of Insar, Mordovan ASSR and many others write with indignation about the reckless action by Washington that interferes in the internal affairs of other countries, pursuing a policy of state terrorism and neoglobalism. On what grounds do they violate the territorial waters of sovereign states like Libya, as occurred last month, the authors ask. And what about the recent aggressive actions of the United States against Libya and the barbarous bombings of towns, resulting in the deaths of many civilians? Soviet people together with the world community demand a halt to all military provocations against Libya. The crimes committed by the aggressors cannot be justified. Currently, when the United States has brought about an uneasy and even dangerous international situation, our country is undertaking tireless efforts to defuse the tension, curb the arms race, and banish nuclear arms from mankind.

What ought to be done to set the solution of the problem of nuclear arms limitation and reduction in motion? I address this question to Vladimir Ivanovich Bogachev, TASS Military Affairs Observer.

[Bogachev] In our country's opinion, the ban on nuclear explosions and an accord on the complete and comprehensive ban of nuclear arms testing could become the first, simple, and effective step in this direction. The halting of nuclear explosions would put an end to the development [sozdaniye] of new systems of mass destructive weapons and to the updating of old ones. As a result, nuclear arsenals would become obsolete and die out, the conditions of nuclear nonproliferation would be strengthened and the confidence among countries would be enhanced, this, in turn, beneficially influencing the whole climate in international relations. In short, a ban on nuclear explosions would make our planet a safer place.

[Patsyuk] We all know what stand the United States has adopted on this issue.

[Bogachev] The United States has set a course for achieving military superiority and flatly refuses to reach an accord on banning nuclear explosions or on a test moratorium for a start. The U.S. response to the USSR proposal to join the moratorium was another nuclear test in Nevada.

[Patsyuk] This impelled the Soviet Union to consider itself free of the unilateral moratorium.

[Bogachev] Unable to bring itself to declare publicly its claims to world supremacy and its course for the uncontrolled continuation of the arms race, Washington resorts to an awkward trust in words. As if mocking people's common sense, the Reagan administration maintains that the only reliable way to disarmament lies in increasing the U.S. nuclear arsenals. According to Washington, in order for nuclear arms to become obsolete they have to be modernized as a preliminary step, whereas to make them powerless, you see, the power and precision of U.S. nuclear ammunition have to be enhanced. Rather strange logic!

[Patsyuk] Perhaps no other U.S. Administration of the 20th century has resorted to such a shameless deception of Americans as the present one on the question of nuclear war.

[Bogachev] That is true indeed. A certain Colin Gray in an article in the U.S. Journal FOREIGN POLICY has been openly trying to prove that the United States can win a nuclear war. Exactly because of the offensive article, President Reagan has appointed Colin Gray his consultant on arms control. One could only imagine what kind of advice this apologist for nuclear war gives the U.S. President on problems of war and peace!

Occasionally, the United States is eager to swagger on the brink of the nuclear abyss and to blackmail sovereign states with the purpose of extracting political and economic concessions from them.

[Patsyuk] Apparently, the large-scale U.S. military action against the Libyan Jamahiriya is the latest example of such a policy.

[Bogachev] Yes, and it is fairly in keeping, by the way, with the new U.S. concept of low-intensity wars. These U.S. actions follow from the Reagan doctrine of neocolonialism which stipulates unceremonious U.S. interference, including the use of force, in the internal affairs of independent states. Washington claims the right to punish entire states whose policy differs from its own.

In his speech at the SED Congress in Berlin, Comrade Gorbachev stated that the USSR and the socialist countries demonstrate their solidarity with Libya by word and by deed. They have warned of the serious responsibility the United States is assuming by undertaking armed aggression against an independent state and a UN member. I would like to stress, the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee said, that they must realize in Washington and European capitals that such actions cause direct damage also to the dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States and between East and West as a whole.

[Patsyuk] Listeners Nikitin from Chelyabinsk, Yegorova from the town of Gornjak, Donetsk Oblast; Seleznev from Tomsk; and Pomerantsev from Penza condemn the U.S. Administration for setting a course for a war fraught with catastrophic consequences for every living thing on earth. The listeners draw attention to the fact that in the United States they are trying to diminish the threat of a nuclear war and prove that the use of nuclear arms can be limited in scale and geographical extent. What can you say about this?

[Bogachev] Specialists maintain that to limit the consequences of a nuclear war is as impossible as to limit the action of a burning match thrown into a powder keg. Our country proceeds from the conviction that even a demonstrative nuclear blast or a limited nuclear exchange will inevitably develop into an all-out nuclear disaster. I have a few words about the destructive capacities of nuclear weapons: The shock wave from nuclear explosions will turn cities of the states at war into gigantic heaps of debris and destroy their population. Light radiation will cause gigantic fires; soot containing radioactive soil particles will rise into the atmosphere and cover it with a veil impenetrable to the sun's rays, first in the Northern Hemisphere and then all of our planet, even those regions where there have been no nuclear explosions. The so-called 'nuclear winter' will set in, which can continue for a year or longer. The temperature of the earth will drop sharply and land cultivation will become impossible even in the tropics. Radioactive precipitation will fall from the atmosphere on the earth's surface for several years. All those people who manage to survive the exchange of nuclear blows will be exposed to lethal doses of radiation. In present conditions, the question is not only the confrontation of the two social systems but the choice between survival and mutual annihilation, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev stressed. That is why our country is making tireless efforts to reach an accord on excluding nuclear arms from mankind. Good sense must have the upper hand.

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